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STUDIES
IN THE
HISTORY OF GUJARAT

The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the year 1930–31

BY
M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A., I.E.S.
Professor of History and some time Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad
Author of 'Mandelslo's Travels in Western India.'

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR PATRICK CADELL, KT., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Ret.*)
Diwan, Junagadh State

Saraswati Pustak Bhandar
Ahmedabad

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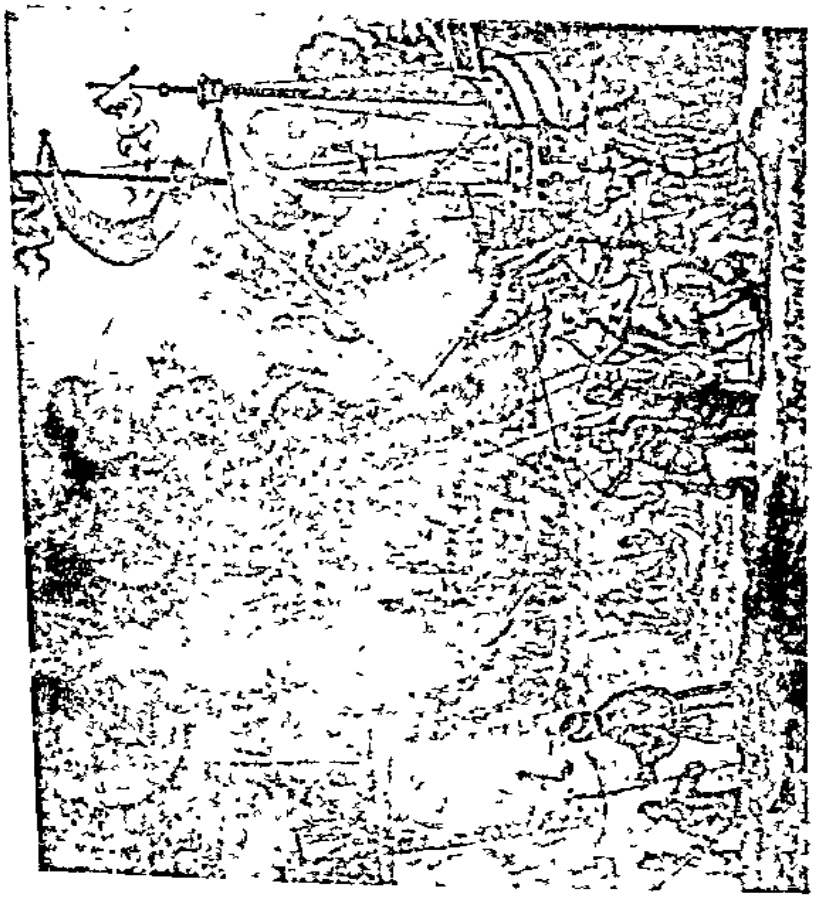

THE SIEGE OF THE FORT OF DIV, 1548
(A Fire-ship destroyed before it could do execution)
(From Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1732, Vol. III, p. 535)

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INTRODUCTION

In introducing these *Studies* to the reader it is necessary to point out that this work, which is published by the University of Bombay, is distinct from my *History of Gujarat* on which I have been engaged for the last several years. This latter work deals with the political history of Gujarat under Muslim rule during four centuries, from the time of the conquest of the province by the armies of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji of Delhi in 1297-8 to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. It is to be published in two volumes. The first volume, which is now complete in manuscript and ready for the press, will deal with the annals of Gujarat under the Khalji and Tughluq Emperors and then proceed to the long and prosperous rule of the independent Sultans of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty, including a survey of the architectural monuments which they have left behind them, and it will end with the fall of the Sultanate. The second volume will cover the history of Gujarat as an Imperial province from the date of its incorporation with the Mughal Empire in 1573 to the end of Aurangzeb's reign when the first Maratha attacks in Gujarat heralded the downfall of Mughal sway in the province. With the completion and publication of these two volumes, the result of my historical labours undertaken during my long official stay in the capital of Gujarat will be before the public.

Turning to the present publication, it may be pointed out that these *Studies* have grown out of a series of five lectures delivered by me at the invitation of the University of Bombay and called the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures for the year 1930-31. During the process of revision given to the manuscript of these lectures for the purpose of their publication considerable additions both in

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the text and in the notes have been made with the result that the four subjects selected for the Lectures are now distributed over thirteen chapters of the book. These subjects range from the middle of the sixteenth to the close of the seventeenth century and were specially selected because of the wealth of original material available about them which fact would have made it impossible for the author to treat them at all adequately in his larger work on the history of the province in which the events of four hundred years had to be compressed within the compass of a couple of volumes.

The first Part of the *Studies* is devoted to the memorable struggle for the possession of the once famous seaport of Div between Islam represented by the Sultans of Gujarat on the one hand and the whole might of the Portuguese power in India on the other. The publication by Sir E. Denison Ross of the text of the *Arabic History of Gujarat* in the Oriental Texts Series has made it possible to record from the works of Arabic as well as Portuguese historians the history of this strife, which created at the time considerable stir both in Europe and in Asia. The manner in which these wholly independent sources of information, written in two widely different languages, support or supplement each other, is often surprising. It may be pointed out here in passing that the writings of the Portuguese historians dealing with the sway of their countrymen on the western coast of India still remain in a considerable measure an untapped source of information for the history of India, mainly because the majority of these works have never been translated into English.

It will be found that considerable light is thrown by this *Study* on the Portuguese methods of warfare in the East and on the brutal practices to which they resorted by virtue of their sea power. The acts of vengeance on the defenceless populations of the coast towns of Gujarat and Kathiawar, which have been described in

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detail in the third and fourth chapters of the book, cast a slur on the representatives of the Portuguese power in the East. In fact, the cruelties and injustice committed by their governors have been regarded by Portuguese writers themselves as one of the principal factors that led to the loss of their Indian Empire. Even the deservedly high reputation of the famous viceroy Dom Joao de Castro, who has been rightly described as 'the Portuguese Cato' and the 'Last of the Heroes,' is tarnished by this policy of ruthless terrorism to which he gave full play in his war with the Muslim power in Gujarat. In contrast to these distressing episodes, however, the heroic defence put up by the small Portuguese garrison at Div for a prolonged period against overwhelming odds commands our respect and admiration. The courageous part played by the Portuguese women in the fort in the work of defence is also by no means the least interesting feature of this memorable duel which confirmed the Portuguese in the possession of the commercial emporium of Div, once so famous, prosperous and coveted, but now so little known and so far removed from the trade-centres of the Eastern world.

The persistent efforts made by the Portuguese in India from 1510 to 1537 to secure a footing on the Gujarat coast at Div, and the tenacity with which, after they had achieved this object, they maintained their hold during the two great sieges of their fort by the Muslims in 1538 and 1546, illustrate the triumph of the policy inaugurated by their great governor and captain-general Afonso de Albuquerque. During the opening decade of the sixteenth century two opposing points of view were advocated respectively by Francisco de Almeida and by Afonso de Albuquerque about the policy that should be adopted by the Portuguese in the East. Almeida, the first viceroy of India, judged that they should hold the sea, for he thought that 'the master of the sea was the master of the whole of India.' His counsel was to be

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content if they held but one harbour secure under their command, on the ground that it would be impossible for Portugal to send out every year as many soldiers as would be wanted for the garrisoning of their forts and citadels in India.

Albuquerque, on the other hand, 'animated by the higher hopes which great minds are usually accustomed to conceive,' was for laying on secure foundations the basis of a Portuguese dominion in India, and he thought not in terms of trade and profit but of glory and imperial sway. The policy which he adumbrated and which he was the first to put into effect has been well summed up by the Bishop Jeronymo Osorio, a Portuguese scholar of European reputation, who wrote chiefly in Latin.[1] Albuquerque's opinion was that the sea was an insecure place of retreat for those who did not possess some resources on land. 'The dominion of the sea,' he argued, 'was not weakened by this occupation of strong places but rather favoured and assisted by it, for the more harbours and refuges the fleet had access to, the more easy would be its navigation, and many places would supply more easily than one only the materials requisite for building or refitting ships.' After recounting these and other arguments, Osorio proceeds to conclude that the results had justified, long after the death of Albuquerque, how necessary and valuable his counsel was.[2]

The memorable defence of the fort of Div in 1546, which has been aptly described as the 'Epos of Diu,' and on which a Portuguese writer composed an epic poem published at Lisbon in 1574,[3] may be regarded as the last

1. De Rebus Emmanuelis Lusitaniæ regis virtute et auspicus gestis, a Hieronymus Osorio, Lisbon, 1575.

2. Osorio, Lib VII, § 14, quoted in *The Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama*, Ed. by Stanley (Hakluyt Society), Introduction, pp. lxii-lxvi.

3. O *Segundo cerco de Diu* by Jeronymo Corte-Real (1533-88), an epic in 21 cantos, deals with the historic siege of this Indian Island-fortress. The author came of a noble Portuguese stock the members of which had sailed to Labrador and the Arctic seas Corte-Real's poetry has hardly stood the test of time.

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great exploit of the Portuguese on the Indian coast ; for after the middle of the sixteenth century their empire in the East was slowly on the decline. The credit for the actual defence must no doubt largely be given to the captain of the fort, D. Joao de Mascarenhas. But contemporary opinion, as well as the verdict of history, has acclaimed as the hero of Div the governor D. Joao de Castro, who spared no effort to send relief and who was present in person at the great battle on St. Martin's Day. This may partly be ascribed to the fame of the 'triumph' which De Castro celebrated at Goa on his return to his capital. It would be unjust, however, to conclude that this action was prompted by vanity or vainglory. The theatrical parade of prisoners dragged in chains, the triumphal arches, the breach in the city-walls to admit the procession, the laurel wreath on the brow and the palm-branch in the hand, all these were perhaps deliberately planned to impress the native powers with the might of Portugal and to sustain the waning prestige of the Portuguese arms in the East. That Europe had by the sixteenth century outgrown the spirit which prompted the triumphs of the Roman generals may be gathered from the remark, made by Queen Catherine of Portugal when she heard of the spectacle, that Castro 'had conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen.'

In the long line of the great Portuguese captains in the East there is no name, with the possible exceptions of Vasco de Gama and the great Albuquerque, which has captured the imagination of his own and succeeding ages as that of Dom Joao de Castro. We have referred no doubt to the brutal acts of vengeance on the Gujarat coast which were committed under his orders. But there are other aspects of his character which deserve to be emphasised and which explain the position he holds. His high sense of duty, the complete absence in his nature of that grasping avarice which was so common in India among those who held the high office that he did, and the

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Spartan simplicity and self-denial of his private life, all these have been described in detail in our record of the events that preceded his untimely death in the arms of the saintly priest Francis Xavier at the early age of forty-eight. There is still another side of his life which can be discovered not from the formal histories of his time or the works of his biographers and panegyrists such as De Andrade, but from a study of his letters and his *Roteiros* (log-books). These, says Mr. K. G. Jayne,[1] in his excellent work on the biographies of representative Portuguese of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, point him out as 'a true son of the Renaissance, combining its reverence for antiquity with its new-born interest in nature.' 'His imitation of a Roman triumph and his discourse on the Red Sea[2] are equally manifestations of this Renaissance spirit.' For posterity the enduring interest of Castro's career lies not in his battles or his victories or his triumphs, but in his contributions to science and to knowledge, and he deserves to be remembered rather 'as the first of Portuguese scientists than as the last of Portuguese heroes'. A passing reference has been made in this book to the fact that Castro's log of his first voyage from Goa to Div in the year 1538 in the fleet of the viceroy Garcia de Noronha contains one of the earliest descriptions which have been give to us by a European writer of the famous caves of Elephanta near Bombay harbour. He thought the caves so beautiful that they could not be the work of human hands : and 'even Apelles might have learned from the proportion and symmetry of the figures.'[3] His measurements of the caves are so precise that they might almost be the work of a modern archaeologist. De

1. K. G. Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors*, 154.

2. De Castro's discourse on the Red Sea was published in the *Roteiro de Dom Joam de Castro de Viagem.....ao Mar Roxo no anno de 1541*, Paris, 1833. An incomplete English translation, entitled 'The Rutter of Dom John of Castro,' first printed in 1625, will be found in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Glasgow edition, 1905, Vol. VII, pp. 236-309.

3. *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India* by D. Joao de Castro, p. 66, quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, pp. 59 60.

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Castro's study of natural phenomena[1] and his use of the experimental method mark him out as modern in his ideas and orientation and, like Francis Bacon in England, as among the very few men of his generation who were imbued with the spirit of modern science and who preferred the evidence of their own eyes to authority or tradition.

Turning now to the chapters devoted to Shantidas Jawahari in the second Part of these *Studies*, it may be mentioned that they contain all the information so far available, based on original sources, about the career and historical importance of this wealthy jeweller and banker, and they will, I trust, be appreciated by the Jain community of India as well as by students of history. The special feature of these chapters is the unique series of imperial farmans granted to Shantidas, of which several hitherto unpublished ones were discovered by the author at Ahmadabad before the lectures were delivered. These farmans point out Shantidas as the acknowledged leader of the Jain community of India in his day and they show the great influence enjoyed at the courts of successive Mughal emperors by this Bania financier of Ahmadabad in the first half of the seventeenth century. Since the manuscript of this book was placed in the hands of the printer, it has been my good fortune to secure at Ahmadabad, largely through the assistance of some of my students at the Gujarat College (one of whom is a lineal descendant of Shantidas), nearly a dozen more imperial farmans granted to Shantidas and containing further interesting details about his career. The contents of these documents I hope to bring to the notice of scholars at some later date.

1. De Castro's account of the comet descried on the 30th April 1541 during his voyage through the Red Sea would alone suffice to show how far his scientific interests were in advance of the age. Throughout Europe at this period a comet was regarded as an omen of impending calamity, not a natural phenomenon to be calmly studied. Confer the addition to the Litany after 1456 of the prayer 'From the devil, the Turk and the comet, good Lord deliver us' (Jayne, *op. cit.*, 136-37).

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Shantidas Jawahari was according to genuine historical tradition the first Nagarsheth of Ahmadabad. This dignity has been hereditary in his family from generation to generation till the present day though with the progress of time and the growth of democratic institutions the nagarsheths have now ceased to be the trusted intermediaries between the citizens of Ahmadabad and successive governments as they were during the Mughal and early British periods. It will not be out of place to refer here to the historical part played by some of the descendants of Shantidas in the political vicissitudes of the capital of Gujarat in the centuries that followed his death in 1659. Foremost among these was Khushalchand, the son of Lakhshmichand and the grandson of Shantidas, who flourished at the period when the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) was reigning at Delhi. The signal services which Khushalchand rendered to his native city at the time of the Maratha occupation of this capital in 1725 are recorded in a valuable historical document which is now in the possession of Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai, the present Nagarsheth of the city. The document is a declaration delivered by the mahajans or trade-guilds of Ahmadabad to Sheth Khushalchand and is in the form of a long roll, 42" long and 8" broad, with the contents written in old Gujarati of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Being an instrument drafted by the mahajans or mercantile community of the city, the language is not literary. The main text of the instrument is followed by 53 signatures of traders and merchants, both Hindu and Muhammadan. I give below the English translation of this interesting document :—

> 'In the Samvat year 1781 of the glorious king Vikram, Saka 1646, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Ashvina (October 8, 1725): To Shethji Khushalchandji, son of Lakhshmichandji : we, the signatories, the combined

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mahajans of the city of Ahmadabad (*here follow various names*), do resolve of our own free will and pleasure to the effect that when, during the rule of the Nawab Hamidkhanji, the hordes of the plunderers (Marathas) came to loot the city, Shethji Khushalchandji Lakhshmichandji saved us and the city from being plundered by spending money from his own resources and at the risk of his life; for which reason all the mahajans do resolve of their free will that on all goods stamped at the custom house, as also on all commodities, spices and silks entering into or leaving the city, they shall pay at the rate of four annas for every hundred rupees' worth of goods, as also those shall pay who are the farmers of customs. This shall continue to be paid to the sons and descendants of Shethji (Khushalchand) by our sons and heirs. He who belies this written pledge belies his parentage. This is delivered in writing by all the mahajans conjointly of their free will and pleasure and we shall abide by it as we would by our fathers' word. The sun shall bear witness to this. Herewith our signatures.'

In order to appreciate the significance of the instrument delivered in October 1725 by the grateful artisans and merchants of Ahmadabad to the Nagarsheth of the day, it is necessary to summarise as briefly as possible the political history of the province and its capital at this particular period. At the end of 1722 the emperor Muhammad Shah appointed his grand vazir, the famous Nizam-ul-Mulk, the viceroy of Gujarat; but the latter proceeded only as far as Jhalod and then turned aside to his province of Malwa, sending his uncle Hamid Khan to govern Gujarat as his deputy. In 1723 Nizam-ul-Mulk resigned his high office at the capital as well as the subahdarship of Gujarat and left Delhi for his estates in

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the Deccan where he soon became independent at Haidarabad. The emperor, thereupon, selected Sarbuland Khan as the next viceroy of Gujarat, who, in his turn, appointed a very valiant and capable Gujarat nobleman, by name Shujaat Khan, as his deputy. Hamid Khan, however, was not prepared to hand over the government of Ahmadabad to his successor without a struggle. Being a man of immense ambition and considerable military capacity, he made common cause with the Maratha leaders Pilaji Gaekwar and Kanthaji Kadam Bande who were in Gujarat at this time. In the course of three months, between December 1724 and February 1725, he was able to secure the defeat and death of Shujaat Khan and his two brothers Ibrahim Quli Khan and Rustam Ali Khan, who successively opposed him and his allies. After the final defeat and death of Rustam Ali at the village of Vaso, Hamid Khan, accompanied by his Maratha allies, entered Ahmadabad at the end of February 1725.[1]

It was, in all probability, on this occasion that the citizens of the capital escaped from being looted by the Maratha army owing to the patriotic action of Sheth Khushalchand who was at the time the Nagarsheth. The document translated above, and dated October 8, 1725, was intended to give expression to the gratitude of the citizens for their deliverance. The grant of four annas out of every hundred rupees on all goods which paid customs or octroi at Ahmadabad continued to be enjoyed by Sheth Khushalchand and his heirs for practically one hundred years. But in the second decade of the nineteenth century, after the city came into the possession of the British in 1817, the East India Company's government decided to commute this payment for an annual political pension of Rs. 2,113 by an order dated 25th July 1820, and this amount is still distributed amongst the descendants of this famous family.

The name of Nathusha Nagarsheth, the son of Khu-

1. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 129-30; 167-186.

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shalchand, is associated with an historical manifesto issued by Brigadier-General Goddard of the Bengal army at the time of his investment and capture of Ahmadabad in February 1780 during the military operations in Gujarat connected with the First Maratha War. By virtue of a formal agreement and treaty of alliance made near Dabhoi on the 26th January of this year by the General on behalf of the Hon'ble Company's government with Fatehsingh Gaekwar Samsher Bahadur, the British were to recover Ahmadabad and other possessions of the Poona court north of the Mahi from the Peshwa's officers and to hand them over to Fatehsingh in exchange for the Gaekwar's territory south of the Tapti known as the *Athavisi* as also the district of Sinor and other villages in the Broach pargana. Fatehsingh was further to supply a contingent of 3,000 horse to the British army. In pursuance of this agreement, General Goddard marched north of the Mahi and arriving before Ahmadabad on the 10th February 1780 demanded its surrender. Ragho Pant Tattia, the Brahman governor of the Peshwa, expressed his own willingness to comply with the demand but declared that he was virtually a prisoner in the hands of his troops who would not surrender the city. This mercenary force consisted of 6,000 Arab and Sindhy infantry and 2,000 cavalry, and being in arrears of pay from the Poona government was in no disposition to yield without a struggle, especially as it was inspired by a degree of self-confidence that its arms were invincible and considered the city to be impregnable to a force such as the British had now before it. Finding all his efforts to obtain possession of the place by any other means ineffectual, General Goddard opened the batteries against it. The walls were breached near the Khan Jahan gate adjoining the present Protestant cemetery, and the Grenadiers leading the charge the city was taken by assault on the 15th February 1780.[1]

1. General Goddard's Despatch to the Bombay Council regarding the capture of Ahmadabad is given in full in G. W. Forrest's *Selections from the State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat*, Maratha Series, Vol. I, 397-99.

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In consequence of the investment of the capital by the forces of General Goddard on the 10th February, a deputation of the citizens consisting of Nathusha Khushalchand, the nagarsheth, Shaikh Muhammad Saleh, the qazi, and Mia Mirza Amu, the Badshahi diwan, waited upon him and prayed that the city might be spared the horrors of a sack. After an explanation had been demanded and given about the resistance offered to his demands for surrender, the general was pacified and issued on the 11th February 1780 a historical manifesto in Persian of which we give below the translation. The oval seal in the same language at the top of this document bears the following legend : 'The seal of Amir-ud-Daulah, General Goddard Bahadur, Fateh Jung, the servant of Shah Alam, Badshah-i-Ghazi, year 1194 (H)'.

> 'Be it known to Nathusha Nagarsheth and others, the residents, the inhabitants, and the people of Ahmadabad, that at present they should dwell in their abodes with entire composure of mind, and they should not have the slightest anxiety or fear in their hearts from any cause whatsoever, and they should engage themselves in their usual avocations, because no one will trouble or interfere with them in any way for any reason. This order should be considered urgent and should be acted upon according to what has been written above. Written on the fifth day of the month of Safar in the year 1194 H., corresponding to the second year of the accession (11th February 1780).'

Henry George Briggs, the author of the 'Cities of Gujarashtra' is the only English writer who has given us a rendering of this interesting manifesto along with an account of the circumstances which immediately preceded its issue.[1] He adds that the original document was in

1. H. G. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, 212-13.

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existence at the time when he visited Ahmadabad in December 1847, and in the possession of Sheth Fulsha Dipsha, the grandson of the Nagarsheth of Goddard's day. The document appears to have also been seen, and a copy of it taken, at a later date by Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes, the distinguished author of the *Ras Mala*. But all traces of it were lost for nearly sixty years till the author had the unexpected pleasure, a year ago, of having this very document placed in his hands, along with other unpublished farmans connected with Shantidas, by Mr. Sarabhai Bhogilal Sheth of this city who is a descendant of Sheth Fulsha Dipsha mentioned by H. G. Briggs. The calligraphy of the short Persian text of the manifesto, which is written on a small thin piece of paper 10″×5″ in size, is far from being elegant, a fact to be attributed to the troublous political circumstances under which it was framed and written. On the lower part of the margin to the right of the text we find the general's signature, 'Thos. Goddard', in red ink.

No great events of special historical or political significance are associated with the names of the later Nagarsheths of the city. After the death of Nathusha of Goddard's time, his famous brother Vakhatchand (or Vakhatsha) became the Nagarsheth and was followed by his son Hemabhai. During practically the greater part of the last century, Hemabhai, and, after him his son the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Premabhai, both of whom lived to a ripe old age, were the first citizens of Ahmadabad and leaders of high position and influence in the capital of Gujarat. They continued their ancestral business as bankers and jewellers and gave loans freely to several of the native states of the time. Their religious and secular endowments in the capital and in other towns of Gujarat still testify to their enlightened generosity. Being very devout and orthodox Jains they spent huge sums of money in building temples on the *tunks* at the holy centre of Shatrunjaya in Palitana. Premabhai is also recorded to

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have given valuable help to the British government at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and the special private dak service which he maintained during that period between Ahmadabad and Indore enabled the local British officials to secure their communications with Central India at a time when the government telegraph and dak arrangements had both broken down. With the advent of democratic principles of administration and the development of local self-government in the form of municipalities and local boards, the position and power of the hereditary nagarsheths of Ahmadabad were on the wane from about the last decade of the nineteenth century. But though a new and prosperous class of wealthy capitalist families has come into being at Ahmadabad during the last fifty years as a result of the marvellous industrial development of the city, the fame of this notable family will for ever be cherished on account of the great part which it played in the history of the capital of Gujarat for more than two centuries and a half.

The Frenchman M. de Thevenot's *Travels*, reviewed in the third Part of the *Studies*, have hitherto not received that attention from scholars which they deserve, partly because no complete English translation of them has been available since the one published by R. Lovell at London in 1687 nearly 250 years ago. A very small part of his *Travels in the Indies*, viz., his chapters on Surat, was some years ago translated from the original French text by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson of the Indian Educational Service and published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1927. Even if we grant that Thevenot cannot command the prestige and position enjoyed in the world of travellers by the 'philosophic' Bernier or the indefatigable and 'chatty' Tavernier, his love for truth and his search after exact information as also his keen observation entitle him to a fairly high place among European travellers in India. It is hoped, therefore, that

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the chapters devoted to his tour in Gujarat will lead to a greater appreciation of his works both in Europe and in this country, for there is hardly any doubt that he deserves a place in the scholarly series of the Hakluyt Society's publications or in the more recent series of the 'Broadway Travellers'. In fact, for the historian of Gujarat, the Travels of Thevenot, along with those of P. Della Valle, Mandelslo, John Fryer, and the *Padre* Ovington, are far more valuable sources of information than the better known works of Bernier, Tavernier, Manucci, and other all-India travellers.

The concluding three chapters of the book, which comprise the fourth and last Part of the *Studies*, are devoted to a bird's eye survey of the annals of Gujarat during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and a great deal of original information of the highest interest is now for the first time made available to the general reader. It will be seen that the emperor's policy in this province in various directions is but a reflex of his general imperial policy with which students of his life and reign are familiar. The essentially puritanical and theocratic character of Aurangzeb's administrative measures is seen in full operation in Gujarat in the farmans he issues against the diwali and holi festivals and the practice of closing shops on the days considered inauspicious by the Hindu tradesmen; in the orders to his officials for the demolition of the temples at Vadnagar and Somnath; in the confiscation of the heretical books of the Shiahs and the state control of the religious education of the schismatic Bohras; in the prohibition of the manufacture of clay images or the production of almanacs, and the imposition of monetary fines; in the baptism of the ancient Hindu religious centre of Vishalnagar in north Gujarat with the Islamic name of Rasulnagar; and lastly in his instructions to the easy-going judges in the

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subah of Gujarat to put in a proper amount of official work per week.

It will be seen that the fifty years of Aurangzeb's rule in Gujarat witnessed quite a large number of very distressing famines. There can be little doubt that these dire visitations, which were almost invariably followed by severe pestilence, sapped the resources and undermined the vitality of the people of this flourishing province, and the country which was described as late as 1702 by Aurangzeb as 'the beauty and ornament of India' probably now began to lose gradually that reputation for the fertility of its soil which had earned for it the designation of the Garden of India during the Mughal period.

The revolt of the Momnas and Matias in south Gujarat and their capture of the fort of Broach described in the last chapter of the book is an exceptional episode to what may well be described as the *Peace of the Mughals* which was in general operation in this and other imperial provinces during this period. The account of this insurrection is prefaced by a brief survey of the historical origin of the interesting communities which were responsible for the outbreak, and followed by an appendix in which has been reproduced all the information which the now rare and valuable volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer have to give about their social manners and customs.

Though the stately machinery of the Mughal imperial system was working smoothly in the province of Gujarat during the years covered by the last three chapters, the two successful sacks of the wealthy emporium of Surat by Shivaji in 1664 and 1670 are an indication of the decline of its military strength and efficiency. The doom of the empire in Gujarat was sealed, and the small black cloud of the first Maratha invasion of Gujarat under Dhanaji Jadhav, which cast its shadow on the province in the very last years of Aurangzeb's reign, was the pre-

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cursor of many others which within half a century overspread the sky and poured destruction on the Mughal imperial sway after it had lasted for about one hundred and eighty five years in the province.

It is hoped that the illustrations provided in this volume will be appreciated as one of its special features. Three of these are facsimiles in a reduced form of some of the newly discovered farmans granted to Shantidas which are now in the possession of the 'firm' of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji at Ahmadabad and which have been photographed through the courtesy of Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the President, and the members of the managing committee of the firm. The majority of the remaining illustrations have been secured from prints in old works of travel or biography, copies of which are now very rare even in Europe and inaccessible except in a very few collections in India. For the photograph of the memorial slab and inscription now located in St. Catherine's church at Old Goa, which commemorates the 'triumph' celebrated by Dom Joao de Castro at the Portuguese capital after his victory over the king of Gujarat, I am indebted to the Rev. Father Heras, Director of the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute. The photograph of the tomb of Imam Shah at Pirana near Ahmadabad has been kindly placed at my disposal by the Rev. George Wilson of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarat. While acknowledging these obligations I should not omit to mention the name of Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim, M.A. (Punjab), who has readily helped me whenever consulted in connection with references to Arabic or Persian texts.

My thanks are also due to Sir Patrick Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., late of the Indian Civil Service and now Prime Minister of Junagadh State, who has very kindly agreed to write a foreword to this book. Amidst his official labours in some of the highest posts in the Bombay

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Presidency, which have earned for him the reputation of a distinguished administrator, Sir Patrick has kept aglow his devotion to scholarship and his zeal for learning and has thus maintained the finest traditions of the great service to which he has had the honour to belong.

Gujarat College,
Ahmedabad,
January 15, 1935.

M. S. COMMISSARIAT.

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PART I—THE GUJARAT SULTANS AND THE PORTUGUESE—THE LAST PHASE

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CHAPTER I

THE LAST DUEL BETWEEN THE GUJARAT SULTANS AND THE PORTUGUESE (1546): THE MUSLIM ACCOUNT

The siege of Div a great chapter in military history.

There is probably no military episode in the entire Muslim period of the history of Gujarat which has been described to us in such detail as the last determined effort made by the armies of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat in 1546 to recover the fort of Div from the Portuguese. No doubt, both Firishta and the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* are completely silent on the subject; but Hajji-ad-Dabir in his Arabic History has a fairly long account of this conflict. The Portuguese historians and biographers, on the other hand, describe this episode at great and almost tedious length, and the struggle appears to have made a tremendous impression on contemporaries both in Asia and in Europe. Though the accounts of this famous siege are partially one-sided, and though the Portuguese writers naturally extol the success and heroism and, we might add, the brutality of the victors, there is enough authentic material available to us to arrive at a balanced judgment on this memorable incident which finally confirmed the Portuguese in the possession of this once celebrated centre of trade in the Eastern seas.

(i) *The Theatre of the War*

The island and town of Div.

The island of Div, generally described by Arab and Portuguese historians as Diu,[1] is situated at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kathiawar, being separated from the coastland by a narrow channel of water through a considerable swamp which readily admits of connection by road. The extreme length of the island is about seven miles from east to west, and its greatest breadth from north to south two miles. The area is about 20 square miles. On the north the narrow

1. We have used throughout these chapters the correct form of the name of this place, viz., Div, under which it has been known to the Hindus for many centuries, the word being derived from the earlier Sanskrit form *Dwipa*, which means an island. The Portuguese mariners and writers describe the place as Diu, and this form has been retained in the English language and in all official maps. The author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat* says: "The Indians spell the word as Dib and that is the correct spelling but the Arabs have changed it into Div" (Vol. I, p. 38). Mir Abu Turab, in his brief *History of Gujarat* in

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channel separating it from the mainland is practicable only for fishing boats and small craft. The town of Div, with its once famous castle, stands at the east end of the island, and, in the days of its prosperity during the 15th and 16th centuries, it is said to have contained an enormous population, being also embellished with several magnificent edifices, some of which are still in existence. Besides foreign trade, the principal occupations of its inhabitants were formerly weaving and dyeing, and articles manufactured here were highly prized in foreign markets. But once so opulent and famous for its commerce, Div has now dwindled into utter insignificance, standing far away from the great trade-routes of which it was once the centre, and fishing now affords the chief employment to its impoverished inhabitants.[1]

Account of the city of Div by Varthema, 1504.

Some idea of the enviable position enjoyed by the town of Div during the sixteenth century as an emporium for the trade of Western and Northern India may be obtained from the accounts left by two European travellers, Varthema and Barbosa, who visited it during the opening years of this century. The earlier of the two was Ludovico di Varthema, a native of Bologna in Italy, who arrived at Div in 1504 in the early part of his very extensive travels to Eastern lands. This is what he says :—

"When we had sailed about twelve days (from Barbera on the Somali coast in Africa) we arrived at a city which is called Diuobandierrumi (*Diu-Bandar-er-Rumi*),[2] that is, 'Diu, the port of the Turks,' which city is situated a short distance from the mainland. When the tide rises it is an island, and when it falls you can pass over on foot. This city is subject to the Sultan of Combeia (Cambay) and the captain of this Diu is one named Menacheaz (Malik Ayaz). We remained here two days. There is an immense trade in this city. Four hundred Turkish merchants reside here constantly. The city is surrounded by walls and contains much artillery within it."[3]

Barbosa's account of Div, c. 1515.

The travels of Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official who served in India mainly at Cochin and Cannanore from 1500 to 1517, and who visited Gujarat about 1515, some ten years after Varthema, enable us to obtain

1. The entire population of the island of Div, according to the Census of 1900, numbered 14,614 persons, of whom 343 were Christians, including 3 Europeans.

2. The principal anchorage in the harbour of Div is invariably referred to by Muslim historians as the *Bandar-al-Turk*, which is the same as the Bandar-er-Rumi mentioned by Varthema. *Cf. Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. I, 220, 251, 261, 277.

3 *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, trans. and ed. by Jones and Badger (Hakluyt Society Publications), 91-92.

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another interesting account of the wealth and commerce of the port of Div in the early years of the 16th century. Barbosa's record of his travels enjoyed a high reputation for veracity and exactness in his day and was accepted as such by the great Portuguese historians of the period such as João de Barros and Gaspar Correa. Barbosa mentions more than a dozen sea-port towns on the coast of Malabar in south India, as well as on the coasts of Persia, Arabia and East Africa, with which Div had trade relations, and he enumerates in detail a large number of commodities, both raw materials and manufactured goods, which were handled in the great import and export trade of Div :

"So that this town is the chief emporium of trade which exists in all these parts. It gives such a large sum of money as revenue to the king, for the loading and unloading of such rich goods, that it is a subject of marvel and amazement."[1]

Caesar Frederick at Div, 1563.

The accounts of Div given by Varthema and Barbosa both refer to the opening decades of the 16th century; we shall now give a third reference by the traveller Caesar Frederick who visited the place in 1563, during the second half of the same century, and some twenty years after the gallant defence of the fort by the Portuguese in the second siege of Div by the Muslims. Caesar Frederick was a Venetian merchant who spent 18 years of travels in the East (1563-81) and whose account is an accurate record. Div was the first port which he visited in India, and he writes thus about it :

"There (at Ormaz) I shipped myself to go for Goa, a city in the Indies, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies is called Diu, and is situate in a little island in the Kingdom of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with merchandise and these ships belong to the Moors and Christians, but the Moors cannot trade, neither sail into those seas, without the license of the Viceroy of the King of Portugal, otherwise they are taken and made good prizes. The merchandise that they lade these ships withal commeth from Cambaietta (Khambayat), a Port in the Kingdom of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great ships come thither, by reason of the sholdness of the water thereabouts."[2]

1. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa, trans. by Stanley, (Hakluyt Society), 1866, p. 60. Another translation has more recently been published by the same Society entitled *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. and ed. by M. Longworth Dames. (Cf. Vol. I, pp. 130-32.)

2. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, by Samuel Purchas (James Mac Lehose, Glasgow, 1905), Vol. X, 89-90.

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The famous Portuguese fort of Div, as reconstructed by Dom João de Castro after the siege of 1546, with several later improvements, still remains an imposing structure situated to the extreme east of the island, and it is defended by several pieces of cannon. The castle is separated from the other fortifications by a deep moat cut through the solid sandstone rock, through which the sea had free passage at one time, but now it enters only at the highest tides. The imposing water bastion of the fort, on the side facing the sea, had to bear the brunt of the cannonade from the Turkish fleet under Sulayman Pasha during the first siege of the castle in 1538. But the second siege of 1546, with which we are here concerned, was entirely by land and it was carried out by the armies of the Gujarat ruler without any help from a foreign power. The generals of Sultan Mahmud III, therefore, naturally directed all their attacks on the line of the fortifications facing the city, which contained three bastions, viz., that of St. John, at the head of the narrow channel between the island and the mainland; that of St. Thomas at the opposite side; and, lastly, that of St. James.

The famous Portuguese fort at Div.

The island of Div was long coveted by the Portuguese from the days of the great Albuquerque onwards. But under the famous Sultan Mahmud Begada all their efforts to secure a footing on the island were frustrated by the unbending opposition of Malik Ayaz, the great admiral of that sultan who was governor of Div for many years. The Portuguese, however, obtained their desire towards the end of the reign of Sultan Bahadur in 1535, when, under the stress of the Mughal invasion of the province, permission was given to them to build a fortress on the island in return for some help. On the tragic death of Bahadur at sea in 1537, after his interview with the famous Viceroy Nuno da Cunha on board the latter's ship, the Portuguese obtained possession of the town of Div, and not all the efforts of the Gujarat ruler during the next ten years were able to dislodge them.

The Portuguese covet and secure the place.

(ii) *The Principal Actors in the Siege of Div*

The ruler of Gujarat at this critical period was Sultan Mahmud III, a nephew of the great Bahadur, and an immature and unwarlike youth who had inherited neither the valour nor the capacity of his distinguished predecessors on the throne. Under him the decline of this powerful kingdom began. The noble, who held one of the most commanding positions at the Gujarat court, and who took the foremost part in the operations during the early months of the siege of Div, was Khwaja Safar Salmani, a name corrupted by the Portuguese writers into

Career of Khwaja Safar Salmani.

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"Coge-Sofar" and other variants. His career was a romantic one. Born a European, being an Albanian of Catholic parents, he began life as a military adventurer and served in the armies of Italy and Flanders. He was later taken captive at sea by Sulayman Pasha, Admiral of the Sultan of Cairo, who presented him to his master. Here the captive rose by virtue of his experience in war and capacities to the high position of Treasurer of Cairo. But his pride and his ambition roused the envy and opposition of the Turkish nobles, so that the Sultan was constrained to force him to abandon his religion, and he changed his Christian name into that of Khwaja Safar by which he is known to history.[1]

He arrives in Gujarat under Bahadur.

After some further service, apprehensive of retaining the continued confidence of the Sultan of Cairo, Khwaja Safar left Egypt and in time arrived at the court of Sultan Bahadur in Gujarat who was known for the patronage he extended to foreigners especially to those who had any experience of the wars and policy of Europe. He soon established himself completely in Bahadur's confidence and was present during the Sultan's unlucky visit to the Portuguese Viceroy Nuno da Cunha in 1537, and at the scuffle which attended his death. In 1538 he presented himself before the new Sultan Mahmud III who gave him the title of Khudawand Khan and made him Governor of Surat. Khwaja Safar played an active part in the first siege of Div in 1538 when the combined forces of Gujarat and Turkey made a determined attempt to recover the fort from the Portuguese; and the failure of that effort made him now, after eight years, doubly anxious to revenge the disgrace and to recover from the foreigner the control over this wealthy emporium of commerce.

Dom João de Castro, 'Governor of India.'

The name of Dom João de Castro, the Governor of Portuguese India at this period, is most intimately associated with this second siege of Div. He was born at Lisbon in 1500 and was a scion of one of the noblest and most illustrious families of Portugal, one of his ancestors having been First Constable who traced his descent to the Kings of Navarre. At the age of eighteen, he joined the Portuguese army at Tangiers in Africa where he first gave proofs of his courage. Returning home in 1527 he lived a private life for nearly ten years at his country seat in Cintra. He put on his sword again in 1535 to follow the Eagles of the Emperor Charles V in the Tunis Expedition, where he added fresh glory to his name. He refused on this occasion

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, by Jacinto Freire de Andrada, trans. from the Portuguese into English by Sir Peter Wyche, Kt., London, 1664, pp. 54-7.

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his share of a present of money that Charles made to the Portuguese officers, saying that 'he served the king of Portugal, and of him alone he expected a reward'. In 1538 he sailed in the fleet of Dom Garcia de Noronha, the third Viceroy of India, and saw his first service in this country.[1] On his return home about 1543, his sovereign King John III made him Admiral of the Navy of the coast, and his last public service began when, on the recommendation of the Infante Dom Luiz, he was sent in 1545 to India as Governor, where he secured those victories which added to the reputation of Portugal in the East.[2]

His signal services during the siege.

To Dom João de Castro, not less than to the commander of the fortress, belongs the credit of ultimately securing the relief of the fort of Div and the defeat of the large forces that were ranged against it. He arrived at Goa in September, 1545, a few months before the commencement of the siege, and brought with him his two sons, Dom Alvaro and Dom Fernando, both in the prime of youth, and men of high courage and promise who took an active part in the military operations of the siege. The governor now proclaimed war 'at fire and sword' against the king of Gujarat with legal solemnities so as to justify his motives. He wrote specially to the people of Bassein that being nearest to Div they were bound to give help, particularly in their own interest, for the guns that battered Div were shaking the houses of Bassein. De Castro also busied himself with providing relief for the fortress, and, as the treasury was empty, he asked for and obtained large sums from the merchants on the pledge of his word, for his reputation stood high in the Indies.[3]

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1. Dom João de Castro's appointment as Governor of Portuguese India in 1545 was thus not his first service in these parts. When he sailed with Garcia de Noronha, the king offered him a 1000 Crusados annually and the command of the fort of Hormaz. He declined the latter but accepted the money as being poor. His eldest son, Alvaro, then only 13 years old, accompanied him. On reaching India, the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha took charge of the expedition, prepared by his predecessor Nuno da Cunha, to proceed to Div which was besieged in 1538 by the Gujarat and the Turkish fleets. Dom João de Castro offered himself for service in the very first ship that was going, "as if he foresaw those future triumphs Div called him to." His log of this voyage to Div is of great value, especially his description of the Caves of Elephanta. —Whiteway, R. S., *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 299-300 and *n*.

2. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 269-70; Danvers F. C., *The Portuguese Power in India*, I, 483-4.

3. Ibid., 84-5. In this crisis D. João de Castro turned for help to Islam Shah of Delhi, the successor of the great Afghan ruler Sher Shah Sur, and suggested that he should attack Gujarat. The embassy did not meet with a very favourable reception. (Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 305 *n*).

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Dom João Mascarenhas was at this time the Portuguese commander at the fortress of Div. Having come to know about Khwaja Safar's designs against the fort he sent the information to the Governor at Goa urging upon him the need for men, ammunition and other necessities, the provision of which had been neglected during several years of peace under a sense of security based upon the former victory. The commander added that the rainy season was very near, which would shut off all relief, and he busied himself with laying up provisions as further supplies were uncertain. After the blockade had begun, the soldiers, not more than 200 in number, were reserved for fighting purposes only, the slaves and others not fit to bear arms being engaged in the task of carrying lances, powder, stones and provisions to the defence-works. The women and the old men in the garrison were also employed on suitable duties. The captain put heart into his garrison by saying that the enemy were not now more numerous than those who were beaten during the first siege.

Dom João Mascarenhas, Captain of Div fort.

(iii) *Muslim account of the Expedition against Div as given in the "Arabic History of Gujarat"*

Before proceeding further, we shall review the only available account of the siege of Div which has been handed down to us by a Muslim historian, viz., that given by Hajji-ad-Dabir in his Arabic History of Gujarat. As already mentioned, while the Persian histories of the province, such as the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and Firishta's work, are completely silent on the subject of this great episode, a very detailed account is available in this Arabic history.[1] This is particularly valuable for various reasons and helps us to confirm or supplement the elaborate chapters of the Portuguese writers on the subject. In the first place, the Arabic historian gives us the correct names and titles of the various Gujarat generals who were engaged in this expedition, and points out the jealousy and lack of co-ordination that existed between the foreign and the native officers who served under the Gujarat Sultan. Moreover, Hajji-ad-Dabir gives the numbers of the combatants and the casualties on both sides as estimated by a Muslim writer. Lastly, his account is of special importance for giving us the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between the Gujarat ruler and the Portuguese Viceroy at the end of the war. In general, it may be stated that, in spite of very natural differences in matters of detail,

Value of the *Arabic History of Gujarat.*

1. The author's best thanks are due to his friend Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar, M. A., for his valuable help in the translation of the relevant portion of Hajji-ad-Dabir's *Arabic History.*

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the native and the foreign records about the siege of Div confirm each other in many important respects.

We learn from the *Arabic History* that Afzal Khan Bimbani,[1] the famous vazir of Sultan Mahmud III, and Khudawand Khan (Safar Salmani) the powerful governor of Surat, were not on very friendly terms. In H. 953 (A. D. 1546) a ship belonging to Afzal Khan foundered in the harbour of Khandivi (Gandevi) which place was under the jurisdiction of Khudawand Khan, and one box full of gold *ashrafis* was lost in the waters. The port officers, in whose hands the box was suspected to have fallen, disclaimed any knowledge of or responsibility for the lost treasure. This led the vazir to devise some plan for the destruction of Khudawand Khan's person and property.

Afzal Khan's jealousy of Safar (Khudawand Khan).

One day, when both Afzal Khan and Khudawand Khan were at a court assembly (*diwan*) at Ahmadabad, the conversation turned on the high-handed conduct of the Turkish admiral Sulayman Pasha at Div which had led to the failure of the Gujarat armies during the first siege of that fort in 1538, and Afzal Khan turning to Safar said: 'God willing, the conquest shall be accomplished at your hands.' Khudawand Khan pointed out that the people of the coast towns were carrying on the trade in timber from the port of Purmin (Purmiyani)[2] to Mahim[3] and Tarapur;[4]

He commissions Safar to take Div.

1.—Afzal Khan Abd-us-Samad Bimbani was vazir under Sultan Bahadur, but on the death of this ruler at sea in H. 943 (A. D. 1537) he resigned his office and retired into private life. In the reign of Mahmud III, the nephew and successor of Bahadur, he returned to office, but was dismissed in 1547 after the failure of the operations against Div. The villain Burhan, after the murder of Sultan Mahmud and his two vazirs Asaf Khan and Khudawand Khan in H. 961 (A. D. 1554), called Afzal Khan to his presence and offered him the vazirate, saying that he was now the Sultan. But the pious and loyal ex minister refused and was killed in the royal palace at Mahmudabad on the same night as the others (Feb. 16, 1554).

Notwithstanding his high position and wealth, Afzal Khan lived a life of piety and devotion. When he sat on his *gadi*, or official cushion, during the period of his power, a servant would by his order hold up a shroud and say: 'Afzal Khan, be not proud of thy present position; death approaches, and thou shalt be wrapped in this shroud; worldly honour and rank pass away; beware of the last day of Judgment.'—*Mirati Sikandari*, trans. by Fazlullah, 203-4; 249-50; *Mirati-Ahmadi Supplement*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 1928, p. 78.

For Afzal Khan's rauza and mosque at Ahmadabad, see *post* p. 14 *n*.

2. Purmin is not to be found on any modern map of Kathiawar. It is not even mentioned in the long list of 62 centres of trade which, according to the Gazetteer of Kathiawar, existed in 1842, extending from the Gulf of Cutch to the Gulf of Cambay (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, p. 236 and *n*). Unless we identify it with Porbandar it is difficult to locate it. I have, however, been able to find one very full and interesting reference to it in Capt. Alexander

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they were under the protection of the Sultan, and if any hostilities were started against the Portuguese without giving them warning, they would be at the mercy of the Firangis. He suggested, therefore, that the expedition against Div might be postponed until these ships had returned to their ports; after this the trade in timber would be stopped by proclamation and the people warned against the danger of going out to sea. Afzal Khan, however, was not for any delay, and when Safar further urged that his men, money and ships of battle were out at sea, the vazir, 'who was more anxious for revenge against him than for extirpating the Firangis or conquering Div,' clinched the argument by saying that the resources of the public treasury would be at his disposal as well as the services of the foreign generals in the Kingdom.[1]

Safar at Sarkhej: he sends for his army and generals.

Khudawand Khan had no other alternative but to ask the permission of the young Sultan for the enterprise. Proceeding to Sarkhej, he sought the blessings of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu (Shihab-ud-din Qutb-ul-Ahad Ahmad) at the tomb of the saint and distributed alms. He also wrote to his agent (*vakil*) at Surat, Yaqut Bahr Khan, the Mamluk, ordering him to send up his son Muharram Rumi Khan with

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Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*. After an account of the sea-port towns of Bet (the stronghold of the Sanganian pirates), Jagat or Dwarka, and Mangrol, he says: "The next place is Poremain a pretty large town on the sea-shore, and admits of trade, producing the same commodities as Mangaroul, and its inhabitants are of the same religion (*i. e.*, Banyans); but both towns are obliged to keep Rasspouts (Rajputs) to protect them from the insults of the Sanganians." After 'Poremain', the two other maritime towns on this coast mentioned are Div and Gogha. (A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies from the year 1688 to 1723*, Edinburgh, 1727, Vol. I, p. 134.)

Another reference of a much earlier date is contained in the *Mirat-al-Mamalik* written by Sidi Ali Rais, the famous Turkish admiral who was stranded on the Gujarat coast in 1554. He says that a Gujarat noble named Nasir-al-Mulk, who was opposed to Sultan Mahmud III, called in the aid of the Portuguese governor at Goa, promising that in return for his services the harbours on the coast of Gujarat, viz., Daman, Surat, Burudj (Broach), Ketbaye (Cambay), Samenat (Somnath), Minglur (Manglor or Mongrol) and Furmeyan, should be thrown open to the Portuguese. (*Travels and Adventures of Sidi Ali Reis*, trans. by A. Vambéry, p. 27.)

3. This is Kelve-Mahim, the head-quarters of the Mahim *taluka* of Thana District in the Bombay Presidency. It is situated about 5½ miles west of the Palghar station on the B. B. & C. I. Ry., and 56 miles north of Bombay. The village of Kelve, whose name is thus joined with Mahim, lies on the opposite side of a creek about 2½ miles to the south. (*Imp. Gazr.*, XV, 198.)

4. Tarapur-Chinchani is a port and group of two villages in the Mahim and Dahanu *talukas* of Thana District. The village of Chinchani lies on the north bank and Tarapur on the south bank of the Chinchani-Tarapur creek, 15 miles north of Mahim. (*Imp. Gazr.*, XXIII, 250.)

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat* by Hajji-ad-Dabir, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. I, 274.

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an army, treasures and cannon.[1] Safar now led the expedition against Div in the beginning of H. 953 (A. D. 1546) with his artillery and 4,000 of the foreign troops (Turks, Habashis, etc.), his right wing being led by Bilal Jhujhar Khan, while Qara Hasan (later ennobled with the title of Jahangir Khan) was in charge of the left, and Muharram Rumi Khan was in the front. Mujahid Khan Bahlim, Naib-as-Saltanat, a native general, joined Safar with the army of Palitana and its dependencies. When Khudawand Khan reached Nawanagar on his way to Div, he left his heavy baggage there and advanced with his guns and fighting troops. Mujahid Khan, however, did not co-operate actively and lagged behind, but two of his officers, viz., Daulat Khan Dakkani and his brother Hasan Khan followed the banner of Safar.[2]

The siege of the castle of Div now commenced, and, under cover of the fire from his guns, Khudawand Khan gradually advanced upto the ditch which he got filled up in parts with earth. Afzal Khan, the vazir, accompanied by the Sultan, now came to Div as if on an excursion, but after three days both went away, and with them left Mujahid Khan in whose place Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed in charge of the native troops (as distinguished from the Turks and other foreigners who were under Khwaja Safar, Jhujhar Khan and others). Finding that he was running short of money and that Afzal Khan failed to supply his needs, Safar again wrote to his agent Yaqut Bahr Khan at Surat who forwarded to him funds in rapid succession. As the result of the cannonading many Portuguese in the fort were killed, and others became sick in consequence of the bad smell; while the provisions of the garrison also ran short. Safar continued to raise up walls or ramparts of stone and in doing a great deal of execution among the enemy with his fire until the cannon from the fort were almost silenced.[3]

The siege of the Fort begins.

But one day, while Khudawand Khan was sitting near a rampart, he was recognised by the people from the bastion of the fort, and a gunner fired a shot which hit a stone and a splinter struck Safar with such force that he was killed, H. 953 (1546). The choice of the foreign troops now fell upon his son Muharram Rumi Khan. He was still a youth, but was ably supported by Jahangir Khan (Qara Hasan) and Jhujhar Khan who were determined to help him to equal his father in generalship and reputation.[4] Jahangir Khan now laid a mine under one of the towers of the fort of Div, and, in the explosion that followed, the bastion was blown up and along with it 700 of the Firangis. Rumi Khan and Jahangir Khan were for entering the castle with their men

Death of Safar, 1546: his son Rumi Khan takes his place

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op. cit., 275.
2. Ibid., 275.
3. Ibid., 276.
4. Ibid., 276.

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by an assault, but Burhan-ul-Mulk, who was the commander of the army (*amir-al-jaish*), held back and this lack of co-operation frustrated the design.[1]

Jhujhar Khan enters the castle: he is killed, Aug. 1546.

At night, however, Jhujhar Khan proceeded to climb up the walls of the fort with a scaling ladder. He did so with several of his soldiers and entered the castle. A bugler, however, in their company sounded his horn before all the party had entered. The Portuguese in the castle, thus warned, attacked the party of Muslims who had entered and who were few in number. Jhujhar Khan, finding his position untenable, tried to retire, but he was killed by a bullet in the forehead as he was putting his foot on the wall of the bastion to get down. The ladder also broke down in the rush of the soldiers. Jhujhar Khan and his followers who were in the castle became martyrs in Jumad-al-akhir of the year 953 H. (August, 1546).[2]

The Viceroy of Goa arrives at Div.

The rainy season being over, the sea was open for navigation and traffic, and the Viceroy (*Bairri*) Saheb of Goa reached Div with a large expedition and anchored at the Turk Bandar. Coming up in a ship to inspect the castle he saw the effects of the Gujarat artillery and the weak position of the Portuguese. At midnight he ordered all the cannon in the fleet to discharge a volley and at dawn he entered the castle with 30,000 Firangis. It appears that at this critical period there were grave dissensions between the foreign and the native forces in the Muslim camp. The former were in favour of Rumi Khan, while the native troops would only follow the lead of Burhan-ul-Mulk Muhammad-ul-Bimbani, and yet both were inexperienced men. In fact, after the death of Khudawand Khan and Jhujhar Khan, says the historian, Jahangir Khan was the only general in the Gujarat camp capable of opposing the enemy.[3]

Great battle of Div: defeat of the Muslims.

The viceroy of Goa issued from the castle when the sun rose 'to the length of a spear' and he had with him 30,000 men drawn up in line for action. The battle was a furious one but ultimately 'ended in misfortune in writing about which the pen dries up'. One cause of the disaster appears to have been the defection of Burhan-ul-Mulk during the battle, for the historian says: 'Had he stayed with his men he would have been an auxiliary to the Muslims; but he fled.' The Muslims were reduced in numbers, while the Firangis, says our authority, outnumbered them. Three hundred perished in the collapse of a wooden bridge over the ditch and among these was Rumi Khan.

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1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op. cit., 276.

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Daulat Khan Dakkani was already killed, while Jahangir Khan escaped. According to the *Arabic History*, the total number of Muslims killed at Div was 1,500 while 1,000 more were wounded, and Jahangir Khan escaped with another 4,500. As for the Portuguese, 1,700 of them died in the castle during the siege, while 11,100 were slain fighting on the battle-field.[1]

Jahangir Khan returns to Ahmadabad.

After this disaster, Qara Hasan (Jahangir Khan) passed a night at Nawanagar and thence proceeded to Ahmadabad. The Sultan granted him an interview and asked for news about the war: when the general was relating the events of the battle, the king was shedding tears. The Sultan next summoned the soldiers and made enquiries about the part each had played, and distributed robes of honour to all of them. Qara Hasan was placed in charge of the artillery and the Sultan conferred upon him the title of *Al-majlis al mansur Jahangir Khan*, under which he has been mentioned in this history.[2]

The Sultan's fresh preparations against the Portuguese

The King gave Jahangir Khan orders to cast more cannon with which the capture of Div might be effected; and the officers in charge of the ports of Gujarat received instructions not to permit the Firangis to put up at or have free access to their harbours. Orders were also issued for the collection of teakwood with which to build new ships, and a ready response was made by the port officers at Surat, followed by those of Broach, Gogha, Daman and Cambay, with the result that 1,500 ships were put to sea besides those already in the ports. Before a year had passed, Jahangir Khan had cast one hundred cannon on each of which were inscribed the words 'Jahangir Mahmud Shah'. A public announcement was made to the effect that the Sultan's government divested itself of all responsibility with regard to those, be they Muslim or non-Muslim, who held any commercial dealings with the Firangis, or who gave them accommodation at Div. Thus Div came for a time to be abandoned and Navanagar began to flourish; a strong fort was built there and it became the headquarters of the army. The Sultan next sent for Rajab, the other son of Khudawand Khan, who waited upon the king in the company of his agent Bahr Khan. On him was conferred the title of Rumi Khan which had been held by his father and his brother, and he was given permission to return to Surat.[3]

The failure of the attack on Div led to the dismissal of the Vazir, Afzal Khan,[4] on February 21, 1547, and in his place Abdul Halim, son

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op cit., 282.
2. Ibid, 283. 3. Ibid, 283.
4. The Rauza of Afzal Khan Bimbani is situated outside the city walls of Ahmedabad between the Raepur and the Sarangpur gates. Here he also founded a suburb called Afzalpur, which had in it, besides

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In this same year the Sultan decided to make yet another war on the Firangis and to recover Div. The Portuguese were much concerned at hearing these news, and an envoy came to the court from the Viceroy Saheb of Goa with a present valued at several *mans* of gold, and expressed regret for past behaviour with promise of making amends in the future to the entire satisfaction of the Sultan. The latter, however, was firm about carrying through his resolution, and would neither allow the envoy to wait upon him nor accept the presents which he brought.[1] At this time news arrived from Delhi that Sajawal Khan had captured Mandu on behalf of Sher Shah Sur who was intending an invasion of Gujarat.[2] The nobles of the Kingdom held a conference to discuss the situation and came to the conclusion that Sher Shah was all-powerful in India (*Sahib-ul-Kind*) and that it was more imperative to oppose his designs than to be occupied with other entanglements. It was, therefore, desirable to conclude a treaty of peace with the Portuguese and thus to relieve themselves of this danger, after which they could discuss the measures to be taken against the Delhi menace.[3]

Mahmud III resolves to renew the war: envoy from the Viceroy of Goa.

The Portuguese envoy was, therefore, permitted to wait on the Sultan and to offer his presents, and an agreement was concluded on the following terms between the two powers. The harbour of Div was to belong to the King and the Firangis were not to interfere with the royal ships. The fort of Div was to remain in the possession of the Portuguese and they were entitled to keep one-half of the duties levied upon all trading vessels. In case of attack, the garrison of the castle were to place themselves under the orders of the Gujarat Sultan.[4] Nasir Habash Khan, an Abyssinian noble at the Gujarat court, who was formerly the head of the police at Ahmadabad, was now sent to Div as its Amir or governor and he proved himself a capable officer and the Firangis and others were held in check. During his tenure of office the city of Div flourished and its inhabitants felt secure. In H. 955 (A. D. 1548), Div could boast of 100 sea-going vessels, and had 6,000 powerful troops with a cavalry of 4,000. The prosperity of the place may also be judged from the fact, related by some of its inhabitants, that more than five hundred customers for meat used to be present in the slaughter-house every morning.[5]

Treaty of peace between the Sultan and the Portuguese.

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op. cit., p 286.
2. There is some discrepancy here, for Sher Shah Afghan died in H. 952 i. e., A. D. 1545.
3-5. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op. cit., 287.

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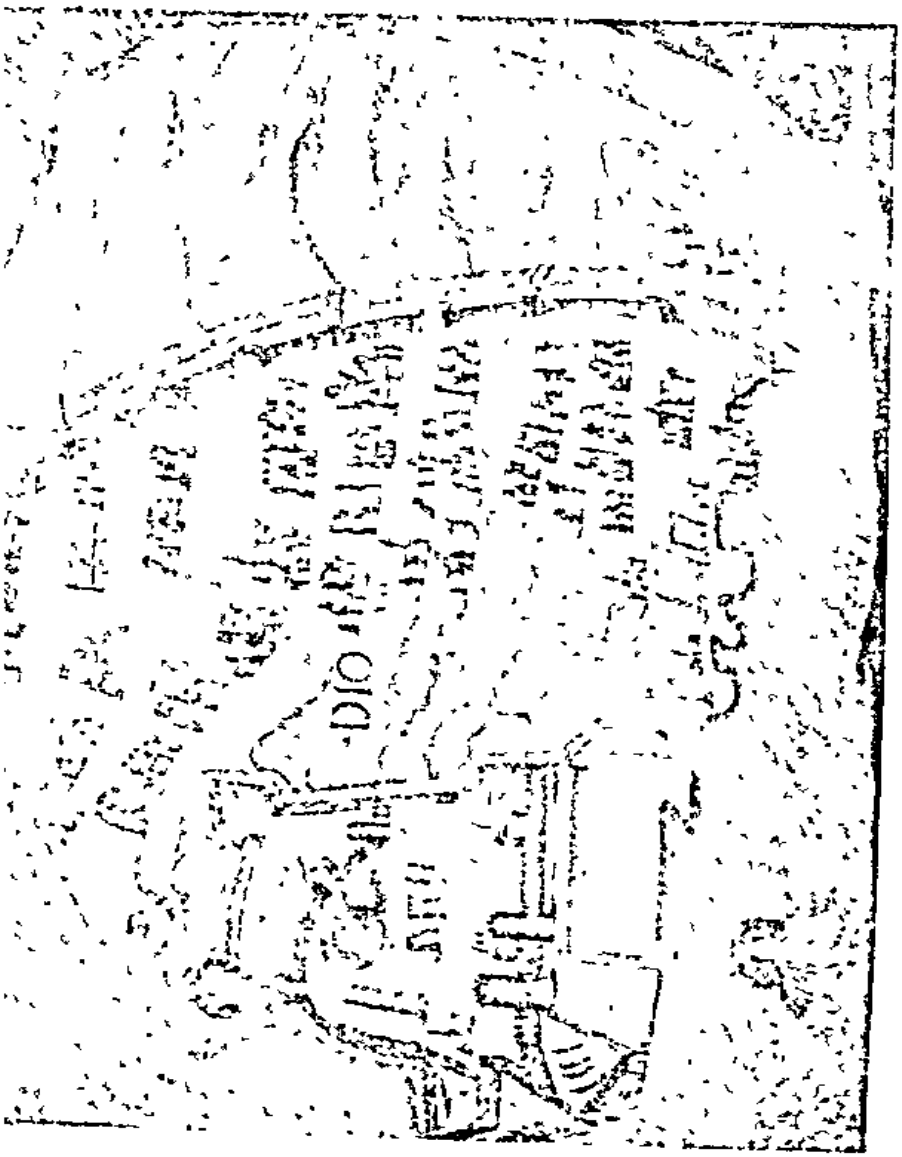

AN OLD MAP OF THE PORTUGUESE FORT AT DIV
(Secured (or his book by Sir Peter Wyche in 1664 through the Marquess of Sandé, Ambassador
Extraordinary in England from the King of Portugal.)

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CHAPTER II

PORTUGUESE ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF DIV UP TO THE ARRIVAL OF D. JOAO DE CASTRO

The great historians of Portuguese India—Barros and his *Decadas*.

We now turn to summarise critically, in this and the two succeeding chapters, the foreign accounts relating to the operations at Div, as also to other memorable episodes associated with that event, which have been handed down to us in elaborate detail by the Portuguese chroniclers. In the course of the 16th century a pleiad of distinguished writers arose in Portugal to narrate the great discoveries and conquests of their countrymen in Asia, Africa and the ocean. Many of them saw the achievements they relate and were inspired by patriotism to record them. Of these, João de Barros (1496-1570), called the Portuguese Livy, may be said to have been the first great historian of his country. His *Decadas da Asia* undoubtedly influenced the epic poet Camoens, and together the two writers fixed the Portuguese literary language, the one by his prose, the other by his verse. But Barros was able to publish only three of his 'Decades' during his lifetime. His narrative, therefore, misses the period with which we are concerned.

Diogo de Couto.

Diogo de Couto, a contemporary of Barros, a more critical historian, and a clear and correct stylist, continued this great work in nine more 'Decades,' and as thus completed it may be regarded as the noblest historical monument of the century.[1] It is in the sixth Decade of his *Asia* that Couto gives us the history of *D. João de Castro's time and the* operations at Div. But this very Decade, so valuable for our purpose, has suffered some mutilation, for it was burnt after printing, but before publication, as the account did not find favour with certain people. We learn that Couto's brother-in-law, a priest named Fr. A. de Trinidade, touched up the sixth Decade previous to reprinting the same in the form we now have it in order to please certain persons who did not like the unvarnished narrative of Couto.[2]

1. The best known edition is *Da Asia* by João de Barros and Diogo de Couto, published at Lisbon (1778-88) in 24 small volumes. The Index Volume includes a Life of Barros by the historian Manoel Severim de Faria.

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2. Whiteway, R. S., *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. XI, 302.

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Supplementing the *Decadas*, we have the works of two other Portuguese historians of the 16th century. The first of these, Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, wrote, after twenty years of investigations at Goa, his famous *Historia do descobrimento e Conquista da India* (1552-54 and 1561). This work, which is mainly based on original documents, is very valuable indeed, being a history in 8 books, ending with the term of Nuno da Cunha. We learn from Couto that Castanheda completed his history in 10 books, but that, at the request of some fidalgoes who were in the second siege of Div, and who were dissatisfied with the straightforward narrative, the king of Portugal had the last two books destroyed.[1] Like the preceding writer, Gaspar Correa lived long years in India and embodied his intimate knowledge of the country in the picturesque prose of his *Lendas da India*, which embraces the events of the years 1497 to 1550.

The works of Castanheda and Gaspar Correa.

During the 17th century, Manoel Faria e Souza, a voluminous writer on Portuguese history and the commentator of Camoens, wrote in Spanish his *Asia Portugueza*, much of which is little more than a compilation from Barros and Couto. But more relevant to our purpose was the production of the grandiloquent biography entitled *Vida de D. João de Castro* (1651) by Jacinto Freire de Andrade who thought to picture and exalt therein the last of the great governors of Portuguese India, during whose term of office the second siege of Div by the Muslims came about. This governor played personally, and through his sons, a very important part in the war and subsequently celebrated at Goa in 1547 a great 'triumph' for the victory. That De Andrade's *Life* of the governor should have been translated into English by Sir Peter Wyche[2] in 1664, a few years after its publication, shows that it must have enjoyed a considerable measure of popularity in its day, especially when we consider that hardly any of the great histories in Portuguese written in the 16th century has been rendered

De Andrade's *Life of D João de Castro.*

1. Couto, Dec. IV, Lib. 5, Cap. 1; Whiteway, R. S., op. cit., 301.

2. Sir Peter Wyche (1628-1699) was a scion of a distinguished cavalier family under Charles I and Charles II, his father, bearing the same name and title, being British ambassador at Constantinople under Charles I. He was knighted by Charles II at the Hague in May, 1660, and was declared one of the Fellows of the Royal Society upon its foundation by charter in 1662. In 1669 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to Russia. Wyche executed two capable translations from the Portuguese, one of which was "The Life of Dom John de Castro, the Fourth Viceroy of India." This was dedicated to Queen Catherine, the consort of Charles II, prefaced by a brief sketch of Portuguese history by Wyche, and licensed for the press by Henry Bennett on 12 Aug. 1663. A second edition, also in folio, appeared in 1693. (*Dict. of National Biography*, Vol. LXIII, p. 194.)

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arm in Asia and the other in the West' they strove to grasp the world, though it was impossible for so small a kingdom to maintain for long so scattered an Empire. The Portuguese, he declared, had in India many Princes under them but not one friend, and all of them did homage to the strangers whom they dared not offend. 'All these Princes would hasten to join Sultan Mahmud as soon as he took the field against the common enemy of all. Lastly, this brilliant renegade urged the possibility of the Grand Signor at Constantinople seconding the armies of the Sultan of Gujarat in order to avenge his humiliation and losses in the earlier expedition against Div.[1]

Strength of the Gujarat army and artillery.

The siege operations began in April 1546 when Khwaja Safar entered the city of Div with 8,000 men, and from this day the Fort was cut off from all provisions by land while the storms of the approaching monsoon were soon to prevent all succour reaching it by sea. Besides his troops, Safar had a formidable park of artillery, consisting of sixty large pieces of cannon, including eighteen basilisks, for the operations of the siege which was to prove a very protracted one. A large part of his army consisted of Turkish mercenaries, and of these over a thousand were the famous Janissaries, men on special pay who had at this period the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe. Safar showed himself a born soldier by the skill with which he made his dispositions, planted his batteries, opened his trenches and formed his squadrons. He set himself at once to the work of building up a formidable wall between the Fort and the city which had been pulled down by the Portuguese. In a speech to his army he pointed out the small numbers of the garrison and their lack of provisions and munitions, while he specially exhorted the Turkish soldiers to take revenge for the damage which the Portuguese had inflicted on the Grand Signor's galleys at the earlier siege of the same fortress.

Relief brought by Dom Fernando, the Governor's son, May 18, 1546.

After the siege had been in progress for a month, the Captain of the Fort, D. João de Mascarenhas, was beginning to get not a little anxious owing to the breaches in the walls and the shortage of provisions and munitions, when the first relief sent by the Governor from Goa arrived in the shape of nine vessels in which came Dom Fernando de Castro, the second son of the Governor, a young man of nineteen but full of courage. The Captain met him on the steps of the fortress

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, by Jacinto Freire de Andrada, trans. from the Portuguese into English by Sir Peter Wyche, Kt., London, 1664, pp. 57-63.

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and took him in his arms. By virtue of his father's position he offered him his own house to stay in, but the brave young noble would not accept this declaring that the part of the fortress exposed to the greatest danger should be his chamber. The fighting force was now raised to 400 men.[1]

Sultan Mahmud III arrives at Div with his Court.

Meanwhile, the incessant battering from the guns continued under Safar's directions who did not scruple to use the bodies of those of his men who were killed to fill up the ditch which surrounded the Fort, partly with the object of covering his losses which now began to be known in the army. Believing that the time for taking the Fort by assault was near, Safar invited Sultan Mahmud III, who was at Champaner, to come to the camp, so that he might place the fortress in his hands. The Sultan arrived with most of his court and a force of ten thousand horse. But, soon after, a random bullet from the Fort killed a Muslim in the Sultan's tent as he was discoursing with his sovereign. This being taken as a bad omen, Mahmud left the tent and the camp and retired to his pleasure house at a place which is mentioned as 'Melique' on the island of Div. He appointed a brave Abyssinian nobleman named Jhujhar Khan to assist Safar in the operations.[2]

The bravery of the Portuguese women in the Fort.

One of the most interesting features of the last siege of Div by the Gujarat armies was the part played by the Portuguese women of the garrison in the work of defence and in sharing with the men the hardships and dangers of the blockade. They showed extraordinary courage, helping to bring up materials for closing up the breaches, going up to the walls without fear, 'stumbling over lances, swords and bullets, mastering their nature and their sex as if they wore men's hearts in disguise.' There were even some who put on arms and braved the enemy. Among these one named Isabel Fernandez made herself specially prominent by her daring, and the Portuguese writers describe her as 'the Old Woman of Div.' This great matron spent part of her resources in junkets and regallos with which in the height of the siege she fed the soldiers, animating them to action by arguments above the courage and judgment of a woman.[3]

Death of Safar by a cannon-ball.

While actively supervising the trenches and the filling in of the ditch, Safar was killed, on 24 June 1546, by a cannon-ball from the Fort which took off his head while he stood in the midst of a company of Turks. With deep laments his army carried out the funeral ceremonies, and by his son's orders his body was conveyed to Surat to be interred there,

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 83, 85.
2. Ibid., 86–88; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 2, Cap. 1.
3. Ibid., 89-90; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 2, Cap. 2.

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for he was governor of that city.[1] Thus perished one of the greatest generals in the later history of the Gujarat Sultanate. Though often described as a Turk, he was by birth a European and a Christian and was familiar with the art of war as practised in the West.[2]

His son Muharram (Rumi Khan) succeeds in command.

Safar's second son Muharram, described both in the *Arabic History* and by the Portuguese writers under the name of Rumi Khan, succeeded his father in the command of the armies of Gujarat investing the Fort of Div, and he swore to avenge his father's death.[3] He pushed forward the operations with even more zeal and efficiency than his father had done. The ditch round the fortress having been filled up at six different places, and the battlements reduced to ruins by the incessant cannonade, Rumi Khan proceeded to deliver, with the help of his Turkish troops, and seconded by Jhujhar Khan, a succession of brilliant assaults against the bastions, all of which were heroically repelled by the ever-diminishing garrison. The first of these series of assaults took place on 19 July 1546.

The Turks enter the fort near St. James's Church.

During the second of these assaults, taking advantage of the fact that the attention of the whole garrison was diverted to the St. Thomas bastion, which was in danger of being lost, Jhujhar Khan invested the Curtain which he found undefended, though nature had made it strong by the craggy rock on which it stood. Under his direction, a hundred Turks with scaling ladders succeeded in reaching the Fort unseen near the Church of St. James. They also entered some of the houses, and took the women by surprise. But one of these, with manly courage, took up a spear, and going to a house where the Turks had gathered, forced the man who was acting as sentinel to retire inside at the point of her lance, after which she locked the door against the Turks and stood on guard. The women living round about were seized with fear and their cries of 'Turks in the Fortress' brought up D. João Mascarenhas to the scene, who ordered a soldier to bring over troops from the works where the enemy was not pressing. Proceeding to the house where the Turks were locked up, he threw a pan of powder among them, and then, with four others, he set upon them and pressed them so hard that they had perforce to

1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 470.
2. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 92-3; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, op. cit., II, p. XXXVIII.
3. Rumi Khan, knowing that the battlements were in ruins and the garrison worn out by duty, sickness and wounds, sent a Portuguese offering honourable terms of peace to the Captain of the Fort, promising, if the garrison surrendered, to spare their lives and to give them ships for passage. The Commander, however, sent a defiant answer.

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throw themselves down the rock. The Captain next proceeded to dislodge a number of the enemy who had taken up their post on the roof of St. James's Church.[1]

Death of Jhujhar Khan.

This general assault lasted for four hours. The dead at the base of the bastion of St. Thomas were so many that there was not enough ground for them: but their bodies made the scaling of the wall easier. The valiant Jhujhar Khan, who had come up to this side after the failure of his attempt at the Curtain, was now killed by a bullet from the Fort. This was the second great commander lost by the enemy after the siege commenced, and Rumi Khan on learning the news sounded a retirement and ordered the body of the dead general to be brought off.[2] It appears to have been subsequently removed and buried in the sacred grounds at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, for the author of the *Arabic History* says that the tomb of Bilal Habashi, entitled Jhujhar Khan, is situated there.[3]

Dom J. de Castro despatches two fleets from Goa in July.

We shall now turn to relate the efforts made by the Governor Dom João de Castro at Goa to send adequate relief to the fort at Div, for he had been receiving letters and despatches overland about the great straits under which the garrison had to maintain its defence.[4] Postponing to a later date, in the interest of the State, his own eager desire to go in person to raise the siege, he equipped and despatched, about the end of July, two fleets. D. Francisco de Menezes, a commander of great fame, was sent first with seven ships. Three days later, the second fleet left under D. Alvaro de Castro, the eldest son of the Governor, and consisting of nineteen ships each of which was under the command of a capable Portuguese officer. The fact that the Governor, subduing his natural love and affection, had hazarded the lives of both his sons in this perilous warfare induced a large number of soldiers and captains, many of whom were exempted from service by their years, to offer themselves for the enterprize. Thus a large number of the Portuguese nobility at Goa left the place for maintaining the honour of the nation.[5]

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 103-5.
2. Ibid., 105.
3. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Vol. II, p. 432.
4. On the plain near Goa, the Governor erected, from drawings supplied by the Captain, a copy of the enemy's works at Div, and his soldiers were exercised in sham fights in assaulting them. (Couto, *Decadas*, VI, 3, 9, quoted by Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, 311–n.)
5. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 107-8.

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De Castro next busied himself with making arrangements for the fleet with which he himself proposed to go north after the rains were over. The treasury was in a bad way and he had to secure the necessary funds on his personal credit. The matrons and maids of Chaul,[1] fired by his generous spirit, and 'with a liberality above women,' presented him with all the jewels and ornaments which they wore without either asking or obligation for return. 'We read not' says the biographer, 'in the annals of the Caesars a braver action of the Roman ladies'. A lady from the same town residing at Goa sent the Governor a box with her jewels with an assurance that 'the jewels of Chaul alone were sufficient for ten years to continue the war'.[2] The incident helps to illustrate the wealth and prosperity of this once famous seaport on the western coast.

The women of Chaul present their gold and jewels.

The state of affairs within the Fort, in spite of the successful defence, which was maintained by the highest display of personal valour, may be realised from the fact that the garrison had no more powder left except what could be made every day, and that too ill-dried, a want which the Muslims soon began to know about. Besides, famine conditions were prevailing owing to the exhaustion of provisions: the food being either used up or spoiled in the magazines, rendered roofless by the enemy's fire. The sick were fed on crows instead of hens, these birds being killed by the soldiers as they came to feed on the dead bodies and by them sold at exorbitant rates. In fact, scarcity had reached such a height that they spared not dogs, cats and such other food which is generally regarded as 'unclean and unwholesome'.[3]

The garrison faced with starvation.

Rumi Khan (Khwaja Muharram), after the failure of several general assaults, resorted to new strategy by the advice of a Turkish engineer from Dalmatia, and began to lay a mine with great secrecy under the St. Thomas bastion. At the same time, the garrison was given to understand that the enemy had orders to abandon the Fort after delivering a last general assault. D. Fernando de Castro, though laid up in bed with fever, rose up on hearing of the contemplated attack and putting on his armour proceeded to the

The enemy spring a mine under St. Thomas' bastion, Aug. 10, 1546.

1. Chaul (or Revadanda) is a town in the Alibag *taluka* of the Kolaba District in the Bombay Presidency, situated on the coast about 30 miles south of Bombay, and on the right bank of the Kundalika river, or Roha Creek. It is a place of great antiquity. The Portuguese established a factory here in 1516.
2. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 109.
3. Ibid., 118.

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bastion of which he was in charge. It was the day of the feast of St. Lawrence, dedicated by his happy martyrdom to fiery trials. On August 10, 1546, one of the most fateful days during the whole siege, the Gujarat army disposed itself about the fortress and all the companies took their allotted posts and planted their ladders. When the time for springing the mine came, the whole army on a given signal retired, and the same fear, equal and sudden in all, betrayed the plot. D. Mascarenhas shouted out to his men to leave the bastion so that the mine might explode without hurting the defenders. All left their posts at this order except one, Diogo de Reynoso, whose bravery outwent his discipline, and who kept his place scornfully calling those who left cowards. This had the effect of bringing them all back to the tower to meet their doom. The mine took fire with a tremendous report and the stout defenders lay dead in their places.[1]

D. Fernando and 60 others perish.

In this disaster perished D. Fernando, the second son of the Governor, at the early age of nineteen, 'raised from a sickness nature might have passed over but courage made it mortal.' Among others who were blown up was Diogo de Reynoso whose rash conduct was responsible for the disaster. In all, sixty Portuguese soldiers and captains lost their lives while thirteen more were wounded or deformed by the fire. The explosion was so great that the stones of the fortress blown up by its violence killed a great many in the enemy's camp. When the fortress was clear of the smoke, and the bastion laid in ruins, Rumi Khan ordered 500 of his Turks to the assault. Now was seen the unusual spectacle of only five Portuguese soldiers sustaining the attack against such overwhelming odds. The Captain soon came to their help with fifteen more, and John Coelho, the Chaplain of the Fort, with his crucifix in his hand, took up his stand in the breach. The report that the work was lost soon brought up others from their posts and all of them combined made up a force just able to keep at bay a vast army. The women too brought up lances, bullets and pots of powder, while one of them, the Isabel Fernandes mentioned before, "with a bill[2] in her hand animated the men with her example and her words, crying aloud, 'Fight for your God, fight for your King, Cavaliers of Christ, for He is on your side'." The Janissaries fought as never before, but the heroic nature of the defence baffled all their exertions, and as the day was declining

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 109-22.

2. A 'bill' was a weapon of infantry in the 15th and 16th centuries consisting of a broad, heavy, double-edged, hook-shaped blade, having a short pike at the back and another at the top, and attached to the end of a long staff.

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their general sounded a retreat. 'Of the great things the Portuguese did that day,' says our biographer in his stilted style, 'let the whole East speak; I believe every stone of famous Dio will be for them a silent epitaph.'[1]

Burial of those who perished in the explosion.

After the enemy had retired, D. Mascarenhas gave orders for the burial of the dead who had perished in the explosion caused by the mine. It was but removing them from one grave to another, since for lack of time and space they were all buried together without any funeral honours. 'Yet rest they,' says our magniloquent biographer, 'in so poor a grave, more missed by their country than those who in alabaster urns have left of inglorious lives an idle memory.' D. Fernando de Castro, however, was laid in a depository by himself, so that if his father should wish to carry his bones to another place, he might give him a more stately but not more glorious monument. The Captain of the Fort, with pious earth, covered up his companions and then fell upon repairing the breaches in the walls, helped by the women who had little time to weep for their sons or husbands whom they had seen expiring before their eyes, and had themselves buried, 'by unheard of examples smothering the inclinations of nature.'[2]

Dom Alvaro's fleet reaches Bassein.

While these events were taking place at Div, the two fleets which had set out from Goa at the end of July, after being tossed about the stormy seas, at last reached Bassein shattered and torn. Further progress up the gulf to the north was impossible owing to the tempests. But though the main fleet under D. Alvaro was kept inactive at this port, some of his adventurous captains were not prevented from venturing in small boats to proceed to Div to bring some news. Among these famous names were those of Antonio Moniz Barretto, Garcia Rodrigues de Tavora and Luis deMello. They brought but poor relief to the garrison, but their advent immensely heartened the decimated forces in the Fort, who were also cheered up by the report that D. Alvaro was near them with a large fleet and provisions. The details of the narrow escapes of these captains from being drowned in

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 123-25; Couto, Dec. 6, Li[b] 10. Among the five valiant soldiers who kept the Tower after the e[x]plosion of the mine, was 'Maestre' John, the surgeon of the garrison. He alone, however, of the five died, torn in pieces by his many wounds, unwilling to leave the fight though pressed to do so. His wife, Isabel Madeira, bound up his wounds, and, after burying him with her own hands and with few tears, returned to work in the trenches with the other matrons.

2. Ibid., 125.

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their little boats on their perilous voyage are given at length by the Portuguese writers.[1]

Dom Alvaro reaches Div, Aug. 29, 1546.

After a time, Dom Alvaro left the fort of Bassein with his fleet determined to proceed to Div, but soon his vessels, being overloaded with munitions and provisions, were at the mercy of the heavy seas and were scattered about till most of them were driven into the harbour of Agashi.[2] Refitting them, Alvaro ventured to sea again and arrived at the Fort of Div with forty ships, their streamers flying, and saluted the fortress with all his guns. The Captain had the gates of the fort opened to give him and his companions a warm reception. Though the son of the Governor and himself Admiral at sea, Dom Alvaro produced a letter from his father to Dom J. Mascarenhas, to the effect that he had sent his son to take orders from the Commander by virtue of the high honour he had acquired during the siege. Alvaro found the fortress razed and open to the enemy, the walls and bastions being heaps of rubbish, and the garrison maintaining an inner line of defence and at its last gasp. His arrival with such large reinforcements was the turning point in the history of the siege.[3]

Mutinous decision of the Portuguese soldiers.

There were now six hundred men in the fortress, all soldiers and captains of repute, and their spirits were high. A party of Alvaro's soldiers, preferring to sally out and fight the enemy than to remain cooped up and be burnt to death by the mines, resolved to give open battle to the Muslims. In vain did their officers try to dissuade them from this mutinous action, reminding them of their duty to obey their generals and of their honour to serve the King. But the advice as well as the orders fell on deaf ears. Finding that the soldiers held to their resolution, and in order to avoid a disaster which might prove fatal to the fortress, both the Captain of the Fort and Dom Alvaro, as also other gentlemen,

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 127-30; 138-40. In the renewed assaults by the Muslims on the Fort, these Captains, who had lately arrived there, gave eminent help "showing in the extremities both by land and sea the same gallantry." We also find the name of another great Gujarat general mentioned, viz., that of Mujahid Khan who came with a large reinforcement. An attempt made by the Muslims to break the great Cistern in the fortress (seen in the map), which supplied the garrison with water, was also frustrated. (Ibid., p. 144)

2. Agashi is a port and town in the Basseln *taluka* of the Thana District, Bombay, situated ten miles north of Bassein and 3 miles west by road from Virar on the B. B. & C. I. Ry. It was a place of some importance in the early part of the 16th century, with a considerable timber and ship-building trade. It was twice sacked by the Portuguese, in 1530 and in 1531, and on the first occasion as many as 300 Gujarat vessels are said to have been taken. (*Imp. Gaz.* V. 71).

3. Ibid., 148-50; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 1.

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decided to go with the soldiers in order to avert greater mischief, 'the commanders by a new discipline obeying and the soldiers commanding'.[1]

Disastrous result of their action, Sept. 1, 1546.

Dom João Mascarenhas left a hundred men to maintain the Fort, and sallied out with five hundred troops, dividing them into three battalions, one of which he kept under his charge and the other two were placed under Alvaro de Castro and Francisco de Menezes. It was a foolhardy venture in the face of a vast army of perhaps 20,000 men commanded by capable Muslim generals. The attempt ended, as was to be expected, in disaster, for the effort to scale the new wall built by the enemy was an impossibility. The Commander at last rallied the scattered forces and brought them over to the fortress. The Portuguese lost 35 men with about a hundred wounded. Dom Alvaro distinguished himself by his immense courage in scaling the wall whence he was thrown down with a blow from a stone. He was picked up speechless and was in danger of his life for three days after which he began to recover. Francisco de Menezes and Louis de Mello were shot through by bullets.[2]

Rumi Khan builds a new city to celebrate the victory.

The success which the unruly obstinacy of the Portuguese soldiers had placed in Rumi Khan's hands was magnified by him into a great victory which being reported as such to the Sultan was celebrated at court with public rejoicings. Moreover, he now began to build a new city on the island of Div either to put heart into his men or to show his own confidence in final victory. He planned palaces therein of stately grandeur for himself and set out quarters for his officers. The news of this expensive 'fabrick' travelled into the other kingdoms beyond Gujarat, and a false report that the Portuguese had surrendered the fortress became current, and even found its way to Goa, where the rumour was listened to with fear and silence, and, though unsubstantiated, did not fail to reach the Governor's ears.[3]

The Governor at Goa receives news that the Fort held out.

Dom João de Castro was at last relieved from his concern about the events at Div by the arrival at the bar of Goa of the ship which had carried Dom Alvaro in July. Her flying streamers and joyful salute indicated from afar the nature of the news she brought, and soon the greater part of the citizens ran to the seaside to enquire after their kindred and their friends. The captain of the vessel was carried to the Governor's palace where he found him seated with the Bishop of Goa and the head of the Franciscan Order. The first question from Dom João was to enquire whether the fortress still held out for the

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 151-2.
2. Ibid., 153-55; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 5 and 6.
3. Ibid., 156-7.

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King, his master. To this the captain answered that it did and would do so, whereupon 'the Governor falling on his knees with his eyes to heaven gave God thanks, not without shedding some tears, witness of his piety towards God and his zeal for his Prince, and receiving presently his letters, he heard the death of his son Dom Fernando, which he received with so great constancy as those about him perceived no alteration in his words or countenance, as if to appear a father had been weakness, and to have the common affections of a man dishonour. He thanked the captain, and sent him to cheer the city with the news: then retired and in private wept for his son'.[1]

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1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 158-59; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 7

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CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE "REIGN OF TERROR" ON THE GUJARAT COAST

The Governor summons a full Council at Goa.

Dom João de Castro, at the end of the rains, summoned at Goa a Council to which he invited the 'Ecclesiastical and Civil Government' of the city, as also the gentlemen and soldiers of eminence, in order to place before them his resolution of proceeding to Div, with the whole might of the Portuguese State in India behind him, to raise the siege and to chastise the King of Gujarat. His object was to secure public approval for his design so as more successfully to carry it into execution. Various opinions were expressed by those present, but the most emphatic opposition to it was made by Diogo de Almeyda Freire, Commander-in-Chief at Goa, a man whose judgment had been ripened by age and experience in wars.[1]

The enterprise opposed by the Commander-in-Chief.

Dom Diogo made a brilliant oration pointing out that His Excellency the Governor had brought together in his fleet the whole available strength of the 'State' in India and yet they could reckon only two thousand Portuguese as their force. With this it was intended to frighten the nations of India, not realising that one victory would add but little to their reputation, while only one loss would be their ruin. The fortress of Div, he urged, had already been relieved. Was it prudence to take the risk of going to fight against the Turks who were equal to them in arms and discipline while exceeding them in numbers? To these and other arguments Dom João gave an emphatic rejoinder for he was not to be moved from his firm resolution. He urged that no ruling nation could content itself with a defensive war against her inferiors and that the respect which the Muslims had for them would be at an end when they knew that they could put up with an injury; that if the Portuguese were content with rebuilding their Fort, the enemy would come again and aim another blow; that 'Reputation was the soul of Empire'; and that he would not suffer the first weakness of the Portuguese arms in the East to appear in his time. He concluded by asserting his resolve to fight, 'the blame would be his, every one should have a share in the victory.'[2]

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 162-65. 2. Ibid., 163-65.

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DOM JOÃO DE CASTRO
Fourth Portuguese Viceroy of India
(1545–48)
(From *The Life of D. John de Castro* by J. F. De Andrade, translated by Sir Peter Wyche, London 1664)

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On 17th October, 1546, the Governor, after delivering over the charge of the city to the Bishop Dom João de Albuquerque and to the Commander-in-Chief, set sail from Goa directly for Bassein, 'making it a point of honour that the Governor of India should not be one day besieged in Dio, but with Caesar's fortune, come, see and overcome.' The fleet with which he started consisted of twelve galleons, of which the 'Admiral' was *St. Denis*, on which was the Governor. Besides these large vessels there were sixty others with oars. After six days the Governor reached Bassein, where Dom Jeronymo de Menezes, his brother-in-law, was commander of the fortress. The latter came to meet Dom João on board, and the two comforted each other in the loss of a brother and a son.[1]

Dom Castro arrives at Bassein.

While anchored at Bassein awaiting recruits and provisions, the Governor commissioned Dom Manuel de Lima[2] with six light ships to sail about the Gulf of Cambay and its coasts to capture the ships trading with the enemy. In a few days he took some sixty vessels carrying provisions, and the bodies of the Muslims whom he killed he ordered to be mangled and set them afloat at the mouths of the rivers so that the current might carry them inland where they might be seen with horror as examples of Portuguese revenge. After accomplishing his commission, Manuel de Lima returned to Bassein with three score Muslims hanging at the yard arms, 'a sight which sacrificed more to vengeance than humanity.' Gratified at these preludes to the war he had undertaken, the Governor sent him out again with thirty ships with orders to put to fire and sword all the coast of Gujarat.

Manuel de Lima terrorises the Gulf of Cambay.

Manuel de Lima, thereupon, set sail again and went by night to the mouth of the Tapti, which he entered with the tide, and came in sight of a place (Magdala) which was inhabited by the Abyssinians and had its name from them. The Captain went on shore with his men, and the Muslims of the place fled after a slight resistance, many being cut off in their flight. The slaughter was great, 'the soldiers' sword sparing neither sex nor age.' Dom Manuel ordered his men to fire the houses, burning down the town and all its property. Only one man, whose hands were ordered to be cut off, was left alive to carry the news of this atrocious victory.[3]

Magdala on the Tapti burnt and its colony butchered.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 167-8; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 9.
2. Manuel de Lima had been sent out by the King to take command of the Fort of Hormuz. But, on his arrival at Goa, he was detained by the Governor who wanted him to accompany the fleet which he was preparing.
3. Ibid., 173-4; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 9.

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After this exploit, De Lima's fleet went out of the river, and coasting along for two days came in sight of the city of Hansot at the mouth of the Narbada, not far from Broach. It is described as famous for its proud buildings and wealthy inhabitants enriched by maritime commerce. The Muslims made a brave but ineffective stand for lack of discipline and organisation. Here again, Dom Manuel, 'more designing ruin than conquest, gave up the city to the flames. The cruelty outwent the destruction, for many Bramenish (? Brahman) young ladies, exempted from crime by their sex, from the sword by their faces, in colour and beauty not inferior to those of Europe, were not spared in the victory'. This was not all, for this buccaneer went about the coast destroying the towns and depopulating every place on which he fell 'as to seem not to be glutted with blood or victory,' and at last joined the Governor who with the whole fleet was stationed at an island named Dos Mortos.[1]

Hansot delivered to the flames and its women put to the sword.

Setting sail for Div, the Governor soon reached the place on Nov. 7, all his vessels gay with pendants and streamers. Those in the Fort, which was now practically razed to the ground, decorated it with colours, and the Commander ordered all the guns to be fired. Dom João de Castro held a council at sea with Garcia de Sa and other members and announced to them his resolution to take the offensive and to attack the enemy, for 'the Governor of India drew not his sword to defend but to chastise'. He only asked them to give their advice about the manner in which they should fall upon the Muslims, the decision being kept a secret.[2] It was then ordered that all the men brought by the fleet should land very quietly in the silence of the night and enter the fortress, while music, trumpets and shooting from the ships should conceal the design from Rumi Khan. In the course of three nights

Arrival of Dom J. de Castro at Div, 7 Nov., 1546.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 174-5. Ilha dos Mortos, or Ilha de Bete, an island eight leagues to the east of Div (Danvers, *op. cit.*, II, 533.): probably the island of Shiyal Bet.

2. The Governor's plans were cleverly laid. The Gujarat army was to be kept under the impression that the great contingent of soldiers which came in his fleet was still on board the ships so that Rumi Khan's strength would be concentrated in that direction. On the day when the garrison was to sally forth from the Fort to give open battle, three rockets were to be fired from the fortress. At this signal the ships' boats were to row towards the shore where the enemy was, with drums and trumpets sounding, the boats bristling with lances to create the impression that the Portuguese soldiers were coming *en masse* by sea. The Governor's boat was to be specially prominent by its place, its royal flag and trappings. Thus Rumi Khan (Khwaja Muharram) and his army were to be diverted from the real direction of the danger. (Ibid., 177.)

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this was effected and the men in the fleet all got into the Fort by ladders made of cords without being discovered.[1]

The Governor solemnly prepares for the battle.

At daybreak on November 11, 1546, the day dedicated to the memory of Saint Martin, Bishop of Tours, the Governor, with the first light, came on the platform of the fortress attended by his General Staff and clad in white armour which added a great deal to his majesty. Mass was said at an open altar praying for victory from the God of Hosts. Dom Castro and the major part of the soldiers received the sacrament, while the Guardian of the Franciscans proclaimed a plenary indulgence to all those who died in the battle that was coming. After this the order was given that the gates of the fortress should be pulled down so that despair of any shelter should make the soldiers make a stand for victory both out of glory and of necessity. The Governor then gave a brief discourse, ending with the words: 'for me to encourage you to fight were to forget myself we were Portuguese'.[2]

Disposition of his army

Outside the fortress the Governor made dispositions for the order of his troops. The vanguard was in charge of Dom John Mascarenhas, who claimed the greatest danger, and under him were placed five hundred Portuguese soldiers, six hundred Canarese and five hundred Nayers. Similarly, Dom Alvaro de Castro had the same number of Portuguese, and among these were the gentlemen and officers of his fleet. Dom Manuel de Lima had five hundred more. The rest were under the direct orders of the Governor and they formed the largest unit consisting of eight hundred Portuguese, the rest being men from Canara and Malabar.[3] Dom J. de Castro arranged to place 200 Canarese in the van of the army so that, should the enemy have laid any mines, they would be the victims. His officers, however, were indignant at this declaring that if the Canarese were placed in front of the Portuguese they would deserve the greater honour and glory. 'There is not one among us,' they said, 'who would not risk even seven lives and be to the forefront of the fray'. The Governor was pleased and decided to leave the Canarese behind.[4] His original idea, however, showing the little value he placed on the lives of his Indian troops, is little to his credit.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 175–6; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 3, Cap. 10.

2. Ibid., 177-8. The Governor now ordered the signal to be given to the fleet by the firing of three rockets. Upon this the ships in the fleet took to their oars and discharged all their guns in the enemy's quarters. The smoke for some time hid the boats, and Rumi Khan, unaware of the real direction of the danger, charged them in order to hinder them from landing. (Ibid., 181.)

3. Ibid., 178.

4. Danvers, F. C., *The Portuguese in India*, I. 473.

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The great battle of Div, which was fought out on the 11th November 1546, is memorable in the history of Gujarat as one of the most decisive in the annals of the province. It consisted of a series of separate engagements, the first fight being against the enemy's wall and their line of batteries. The Governor led his men in person, and before him Antonio de Casal, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order, carried aloft a crucifix. While scaling the wall at the first fight, a bullet broke one of his arms, but the brave monk continued at his post exhorting the Portuguese to die for their Saviour. The Captain of the Fort and Dom Alvaro together captured a bulwark on which they twice planted the Portuguese colours, which were as often cut down. In the end, however, with a rush the line of batteries was carried and they entered the enemy's works. Then followed a series of battles in which Rumi Khan and Jhujhar Khan made a stubborn resistance; but the Portuguese generals, though at times compelled to retire, again returned to the charge and with such fury that the Gujarat army was at last routed and driven into the city.[1]

The great battle of Div, Nov. 11, 1546.

The Battle of Div ranks among the most famous incidents connected with the Portuguese power in the East. The strength of the Gujarat army during the battle is variously estimated, but the lowest figure puts it at forty thousand. There is no doubt that the disparity in numbers between the two armies was immense, and 'in foreign histories we find the victory writ with more applause than in our own memorials,' says the biographer. The Governor received congratulations on the victory from the Princes of India who sent him embassies; the Chamber of Goa called him Duke; and, later on, the King, Dom John III of Portugal, honoured him with the title of Viceroy of India, he being the fourth Governor to receive this great honour.[2]

Reflections on the victory at Div.

After he had set aside the King's share of the booty, several colours, and forty large pieces of cannon, the victor delivered over the city of Div to plunder according to the barbarous practice of the age though he did not reserve for himself even the point of a lance, 'so greatly did he despise the riches of the East.' Five thousand of the enemy perished in the battle, among them being Rumi Khan, Ulugh Khan, Asad Khan, and other nobles of note. Six hundred were taken prisoners and they were reserved to honour the Triumph which was

The sack of the city and the losses of the Muslims.

1. Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap. 2
2. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 183.

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some months later celebrated by the Governor at Goa with the greatest pomp and ceremonial as we shall relate. The Portuguese lost thirty among the dead and had three hundred of their numbers wounded.[1]

Project for rebuilding the Fort of Div.

After a very short respite, the Governor set himself to the task of rebuilding the fortress of Div, but though this work was indispensable, it was found that it was beyond the resources of the 'State' which had been drained by the expenses of the long siege. Not disheartened by these difficulties, Dom João de Castro went about raising a new Fort on a fresh plan, for in the opinion of experts it was necessary to enlarge the area within the walls, to make these walls thicker and the bastions nearer, and to build the magazines in a dry place for storing ammunition and provisions so as to prevent them from being damaged by the moistness of the soil. But workmen and pioneers and stone-cutters had all to be brought and paid. As the Governor had neither plate nor jewels to serve this purpose, he was forced to try other pawns 'valuable by his honour not by their nature'. He commanded the bones of his son Dom Fernando to be dug up in order to send them as 'an unheard of pawn' to the city of Goa; but the body not having corrupted during so short an interval, Dom John cut off some hairs of his own beard and sending these as a pledge asked for a loan of twenty thousand Pardaos from the Chamber of Goa. 'His affection for his country,' says his biographer, 'finding him out a strange way, never lighted upon by those loyal Decios, Curtios and Fabios of whom Rome yet proud preserves their memory in the ruins of her Empire.'[2] The pawns were accompanied by a letter which we shall quote in full as illustrative of the manners, the ideals and the language of the age:

"A letter writ from Dio by the Governor Dom João de Castro to the City of Goa

"Gentlemen, magistrates, judges, and people of the most honourable and always loyal city of Goa: I writ to you some days since by Simaon Alvarez, one of your citizens, the news of the victory God gave me against the commanders of the King of Cambay, and, that you might without any alloy enjoy the pleasure and satisfaction of the victory, I spoke not in my letter of the great streights and necessities I was in. But now I think fit no longer to dissemble, and to give you an account of the urgencies which are upon me, and to desire your assistance to supply and remedy things of so great moment as are now in my hands. For the fortress of Dio is so beaten down to the ground as not one

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1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 188-9.
2. Ibid., 189-90.

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foot of the wall can serve again, so as 'tis not only necessary this summer to build it up again, but with such skill and in such a form as the King of Cambay may lose his hopes of being at any time able to take it.

"To this trouble is added another as great, or greater, to me incomparably above all others, which is the trouble and perplexity the Lasquerins put me to for their pay, which I have secur'd to 'em, else would they be all gone, and I should be left alone in the fortress, which would put me into no little danger, and consequently all India. For the commanders of the King of Cambay, with those men who are left of the defeat, quarter at Suna, two leagues from this fortress, and the King every day sends 'em horse and foot to increase their camp, as if they would return and try their fortune by giving another battail.

"Wherefore, I am in great want of a considerable sum of money, and, because it concerns the service of our Lord the King, and complies with your honour and loyalty, I earnestly beg of you to remember your old custom and great generosity, which oblig'd you (as good and loyal subjects) always to relieve the urgent necessities of his Majesty. And for the great and intimate affection I have for you all, you would lend me twenty thousand Pardaos, which as a gentleman I promise, and on the Holy Gospel swear, before a year's end to see you repaid, though I should be set upon by greater necessities and extremities than those by which I am at present environed.

"I commanded the taking up my son Dom Fernando, whom the Moors killed in this fortress (fighting for God and our Lord the King), to pawn to you his bones, but they were found so as 'twas not fit to take 'em out of the ground. By which I am without any other pawn, but part of my beard, which I here send you by Diogo Rodriguez de Azevedo, for as you know, I have neither gold, plate, household-stuff, or any thing of value to secure your estate, only a plain and naked truth given me by God Almighty.

"But that you may more certainly rely on your payment, and it may not be thought by some that (what hath at other times fallen out) some intervening accident may keep you from it, I here send you an order for the Treasurer of Goa to be paying you out of the tax for the horse, engaging all can be made of it, till you are re-imburst; for the manner of the paying it you are to fix it with him. Excuse me for not affecting words to heighten to you my extremities, being, from what I have said before, firmly

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persuaded that you will in this conjucture do what you can, and above your abilities, without any other mediation than your accustomed nobleness and our reciprocal affection. I recommend myself, gentlemen, to your goodness. Dated at Dio the twenty-third of November, year 1546."

Goa subscribes a loan of over 20,000 Pardaos.

Diogo Rodriguez de Azevedo, who had been entrusted with the letter and the precious pawns, reached Goa within thirteen days and delivered his charge on Tuesday, the 7th December. In less than three weeks from this date the Chamber of Goa made up the required amount, so high stood the Governor's honour and credit in the capital, and the same officer returned to Div with a reply from the Chamber addressed to the 'Most Illustrious and Excellent Captain-General and Governor of India.' The letter, after a long preliminary dissertation, goes on 'to state that the citizens had, in the course of the interval, 'raised twenty thousand one hundred and forty six Pardaos, and one Tanga, at five Tangas the Pardao, which the city lends, that is citizens and people, as also the Brahmans, merchants, traders and goldsmiths', and adds: 'As for the pawns your Lordship sent us, the city and inhabitants think ourselves injured by your Lordship to rely so little on us and our loyalties; for in a business that so concerned the service of our Lord the King, and his royal state, such honourable and glorious pawns were not necessary . . . . My Lord, Diogo Rodriguez de Azevedo, returns to carry you back your pawns, and he, and Bartholomew Bispo, Procurator of this city, bring you the money which the city and people lend you of their good and free will'. The reply is dated, 'at the Chamber, the twenty seventh of December, 1546.'[1]

It returns the honourable pawns.

The hairs were preserved by the Governor's posterity.

A few words are necessary in connection with the later history of these 'honourable pawns', the precious hairs of Dom João de Castro's venerable beard. We are told by his biographer Jacinto Freire de Andrade that, at the time of his writing (1651), they were preserved in the hands of the Bishop, the Inquisitor General, the 'most deserving grandchild' of the hero of Div. The hairs were put in an urn or 'pyramid' of crystal set on a pedestal of silver on which were engraven several distichs commemorative of this famous action. This relic remained with his posterity 'to make hereditary the virtues of Dom João de Castro.'[2]

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 192-4.
2. Ibid., 192.

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While detained at Div to supervise the rebuilding of the fortress, the Governor ordered Manuel de Lima to proceed a second time with thirty ships along the Gulf of Cambay and burn all the villages on the coast to show to the Sultan that his desire for revenge had not been satisfied by the victory. This captain was, however, instructed not to touch at Gogha because, according to intelligence received, all the troops that had escaped from the battle of Div had taken refuge there. While sailing along the coast, De Lima was overtaken by a violent storm which forced him to take shelter in this very port. The arrival of his ships caused a panic at Gogha as the result of which not only the rabble but also the soldiers fled to a small mountain in the neighbourhood for safety. Dom Manuel now held a council of his staff to decide on the action to be taken and it was voted that they should enter the city 'because the Governor's instructions could not take in all accidents'.[1]

Manuel de Lima sent out again to wreak vengeance.

The Portuguese soldiers almost without resistance entered the town of Gogha and pillaged it. They burnt the houses and all property that could not be taken away. With the help of three Bania prisoners, Dom Manuel proceeded the next day to punish the fugitive inhabitants who had fled with their families to the hill close by and who thought themselves secure. The atrocities that followed had best be described in the words of the Portuguese biographer:

Gogha sacked by the Portuguese Captain.

> "Those who thought themselves secure in the mountains saw over their heads the sword, before the enemy. The slaughter differenciated not cause from cause, person from person, natives and strangers, guilty and innocent with their lives paid for their own or another's offence. From persons the affront passed to Religion: he caused many to be hanged up in the temples of their idols, an outrage in the superstition of their religion inexpiable. He cut the throats of all the cattle, sprinkling the mosques (?) with cows' blood, an animal which as the depositary of souls they adore with abominable worship."[2]

This unenviable exploit illustrates the ruthless barbarism of the times and the policy of a great European nation in its warfare in the East. After this orgy of murder and sacrilege, Manuel de Lima returned to his ship and in attempting to cross the bay he almost suffered shipwreck without a storm owing to the 'bore' or high tidal waves for which this coast is famous. Sailing down the coast of the mainland

Gandhar and other towns sacked and burned.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 194-5.
2. Ibid., 195-6. The expression 'mosque' is evidently intended to mean a temple. The slaughter was mostly of the Hindu population of Gogha.

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of Gujarat, he came in sight of the then prosperous port of Gandhar, peopled by Hindu merchants, 'rich by its commerce, weak by its inhabitants.' The town surrendered but was burnt down. The people in vain offered their properties as a ransom for their lives, but to no effect, for the anger, rather inhumanity, of the soldiers coveted blood more than booty. De Lima destroyed many other places in the bay whose names are not mentioned, but whose ruins and ashes kept up for many years the memory of their destruction. The natives who survived these miseries retired to the inland towns where they could lead a life of secure poverty.[1]

The question of a Commander for the Fort.

The Governor's presence being now required at Goa on diverse business, he was anxious to leave the rising fortifications at Div in charge of a capable person, especially as Dom John Mascarenhas, who had been worn out by the siege, had resigned his command with the intention of returning to Europe. Several gentlemen to whom the Governor offered the post declined, probably under the belief that after the late victories there was little honour or glory and less of profit to be gained there. At last Manuel de Lima offered to remain in that port; but at this time news arrived for the Governor to the effect that the Turks had overthrown the ruler of Balsora in Arabia the Happy (Felix) who was an ally of the Portuguese. Upon this De Lima was sent to take charge of the fortress of Hormaz and of the war against the Turks. The problem of the command at Div was thus again revived, and as no one would come forward to take it 'since Dom John Mascarenhas was carrying away with him the glory and the danger', the latter ended the Governor's anxiety by offering to remain for a short time longer at his old post.[2]

J. de Castro Invites merchants to settle at Div.

At the same time, the Governor left Dom George de Menezes with six ships to sail about the Gulf of Cambay and to proclaim in all the adjacent ports to the Muslims and the Hindu residents there that they might now return to inhabit the island of Div, promising security to their persons and their commerce. On the strength of this assurance, a large number of Hindu merchants and inhabitants came over to settle in the island, 'counting that peace secure which began on the confines of war.'[3]

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 196; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap. 3.
2. Ibid., 197-8; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap. 4 and 5.
3. Ibid., 199.

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CHAPTER IV

THE "TRIUMPH" OF D. JOAO DE CASTRO AT GOA AND THE LAST STAGES OF THE WAR

The final act of the drama of the Siege of Div was enacted not on the soil of Gujarat but in the distant city of Goa. After a stay of about five months at Div, from Nov. 1546 to April 1547, and when the new fortifications were far enough advanced, the Governor took ship for his capital and arrived within ten days at the bar of Goa on April 19, 1547. Here he was visited at sea by the Bishop, the Commander-in-Chief, and the magistrates of the city, with a request that he should halt at Pangim while the citizens completed their preparations for the honour of a Triumph which they desired to bestow on him for his signal victory. The Governor was persuaded to accede to this request for he could not refuse the honour without injustice to those who had been his companions in the great battle or without restricting in some measure the popular rejoicing.[1]

The Governor arrives at the bar of Goa.

The 21st April, 1547 was appointed as the day for the Triumph, a great arch being erected in St. Catherine's Bazaar, the fabric of which was covered with carpets. In order to provide for this imposing entrance, the gate of the city was thrown down and the adjoining walls decorated with hangings of cloth of gold and velvets of diverse colours. On the walls on either side of the great arch were placed gilded lions upholding in their paws the wheels which formed the heraldic symbols of the Castro family. Not far from this site, in the courtyard of the Governor's palace, a miniature fortress was erected to serve as a model of that at Div and within it were placed guns and firearms (charged without bullets), 'a pleasant representation of former horrors.' The structure also concealed musical instruments and players who performed for the delight of the spectators. The adjoining streets were decorated in the same style whilst the citizens had dressed themselves in their gayest clothes. The sea further off was covered with galleys and brigantines with their flags and streamers fluttering gaily.[2]

Triumphal arch and decorations.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro* by J. F. D'Andrade, translated into English by Sir Peter Wyche, London, 1664, p. 200; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap. 6.
2. Ibid., 200–1.

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The Governor left Pangim on the appointed day in a specially decorated galley accompanied by his old cavaliers who shared with him equally the danger and the glory. The galleons of the fleet headed the procession of ships up the river of Goa. When the ships came in sight of the improvised fortress they thundered forth a salute which was answered from the shore. Dom João was clad in a rich French suit of crimson satin, and over it he had put on a coat of mail wrought on cloth of gold; he had besides feathers in his hat and the 'guarniture' of his sword was gold.[1] At the quay, the nobility and the magistracy of the city received the Governor and one of the 'consuls' delivered an oration in Latin pointing out how by his valour he had humbled 'the proudest sceptre of the East'. Then came a flourish of musical instruments, while some of the guns discharged diverse comfits as a pleasant feast for the multitude. Further on, under a canopy, a citizen of quality, bowing reverently, took the Governor's hat from his head and placed on his brow a laurel crown for his triumph and in his hand a palm. It is in this costume that the portrait that has come down to us represents the hero.[2]

Dom João receives a laurel crown.

The order of the Triumphal Procession through the streets of Goa has been handed down to us by the Portuguese writers. First came the Guardian of the Franciscans bearing in his hand the crucifix which he had held aloft at a critical period in the battle of Div, representing the Saviour with one arm unnailed and hanging. Then followed the 'Royal Banner of our Cinks,' after which came the standards of the Gujarat rulers dragged on the ground in the sight of Jhujhar Khan and other captive Muslim commanders who walked with their arms pinioned and who 'represented the Tragedy of their fortune, for them compassionate, to us pleasant.' After them were seen six hundred prisoners dragging their chains after them. Last came the field-pieces and various kinds of arms. The ladies who stood at their windows to watch the procession sprinkled the Triumpher with distilled waters of diverse spices. The beautified and open churches 'showed their acceptance and thanks'. 'In this order,' concludes our authority,

The Triumphal Procession at Goa.

> 'he went to visit the Cathedral, the Mother-Church of the East, where the Bishop and the clergy received him with the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*. Being entered into the See, with religious offerings he acknowledged the Author of Victories, and, it being now late, with little ceremony retired to the palace, one day's time being too narrow for the majesty of the Triumph.'[3]

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 201-2.
2. Ibid., 201-2.
3. Ibid., 202-3.

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The history of the last stages of the war between the Portuguese power and the Gujarat kingdom may now be recorded. The wanton sack of Magdala and Hansot, of Gogha and Gandhar, and the slaughter of their innocent inhabitants, have already been described. Though the actual agent who perpetrated these atrocities was Manuel de Lima, the ultimate responsibility for this Reign of Terror must rest on Dom João de Castro. We shall now refer to another equally atrocious and barbarous act of vengeance perpetrated on the ancient and flourishing seaport of Broach. When he left Div for Goa in April, 1547, the Governor had commissioned D. Jorge de Menezes to commit all possible acts of cruelty in the Gulf, and some months later this captain came in sight of the city of Broach, 'whose stately buildings presented him with the politeness of Europe'. The Portuguese writer describes the town as 'standing on an eminency surrounded by brick walls with diverse bulwarks, furnished with store of ordinance, which commanded the entrance into the haven.' The trade of the place was in very fine silks. 'Madre Maluco' (Imad-ul-Mulk) was lord of the city and had the neighbouring villages tributary to him.[1]

D. Jorge de Menezes at Broach.

The invaders gathered information from some fishermen who were natives of the place, and whose boat had been captured, that Broach was at this time without any garrison for its defence. Imad-ul-Mulk had taken with him all the soldiers to the Sultan's court at Ahmadabad, and the only people left were the artisans and the tradesmen. During the day Dom Jorge, to deceive the inhabitants into a false sense of security, steered another course taking with him the fishermen to serve as his pilots at the mouth of the river. At night, however, the whole fleet tacked about and made for the port where all the men got on shore, there being not a sentinel to guard the place. The soldiers fell upon the unarmed and defenceless population which being awakened in the dead of night from sleep was in the utmost confusion and terror. What followed had best be described in the words of the biographer of De Castro:

He attacks the hapless citizens.

"Those who by flying into houses escaped the sword were in them consumed by the fire; the poor people having no remedy against, but choice of their death. The invasion and sack was at the same time: the slaughter as in a fight without resistance, the plunder as in a city forced to deliver. Dom Jorge commanded the city to be burnt, where, in a few hours, the nobility and people, gardens and houses, became compassionate ashes

Menezes gets the surname of 'Baroche'.

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1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 206; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap.

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without any distinction of nature or separation of place. This action being so famous amongst our soldiers as to give him who was called Menezes the surname of *Baroche*, as the ruins of Carthage gave Scipio the name of Africanus."[1]

The Governor of Broach arrives too late.

Imad-ul-mulk, the governor of Broach, and father of the more famous Changiz Khan, on hearing of this outrage, came up with five thousand horse, but too late to help. Finding, however, that the fire and the sword had left nothing in its former state, he returned impatiently to the Sultan of Gujarat, and urged him to take revenge for the destruction of this great city as an insult which was aggravated by being the latest of so many others. The Sultan was touched by these news and vowed once more to set upon Div, 'the stone of offence.'[2]

News received of another siege of the Fort by the Sultan.

In August, 1547, letters reached the Governor at Goa from D. Mascarenhas to say that the Sultan of Gujarat had collected together all the forces in his kingdom with the intention of besieging the fortress again.[3] He, thereupon, summoned together the magistrates of the city and desired their help with another loan of ten thousand Pardaos. Though this demand came within a year of the previous one, the citizens offered to place their resources at his disposal and furnished him with the amount. Moreover, the wives of the richer gentry sent to Dom João a large quantity of jewels with a letter of complaint that he had not accepted and spent them when first offered. The ladies of Chaul also again came forward with a more splendid offer, but the Governor 'sparing in the use and expense of so loyal presents' returned them with his thanks. He also sent advice to the people of Bassein and Chaul of the information received from Div and asked that they should be ready for assistance.[4]

De Castro again leaves for the North, Nov., 1547.

De Castro put to sea in November, 1547 with a fine fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, each under the command of a capable officer, including the governor's son Dom Alvaro, and after some days came to anchor at Bassein. While halting at this place, he sent out spies to find out and

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 207.
2. Ibid, 207-8.
3. There was also another reason for the renewal of the war by the Governor. The cloths produced in Gujarat were sold at Bassein, Goa, Hormaz and Malacca, and the diminution in the customs receipts from these places began to be seriously felt by the Portuguese government. Their trade in the East suffered from the effects of the war with Gujarat. Hence De Castro's attempt to bring Sultan Mahmud III to his knees. (Whiteway, R. S., *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, 314-15.)
4. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 224-5; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 5, Cap. 3.

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report on the enemy's forces and designs. Being informed that Caracene (? Qara Hasan), the son-in-law of Khwaja Safar Salmani, was in the Castle of Surat with a small garrison, the Governor sent his son Dom Alvaro with sixty sail to go up the mouth of the Tapti, and, after ascertaining the state of the castle, and its garrison and provisions, to attempt to take the fortress by assault. D. Alvaro arrived at Surat bar and forwarded Dom Jorge de Menezes *Baroche* with six fly boats to reconnoitre the fort, but his presence being detected he was shot at from the castle. Upon this the men in the boats turned back either from fear or caution. On their way they received a fusillade from several guns at the village of Magdala where there was a colony of brave Abyssinians. Dom Jorge, thereupon, went ashore and with great courage captured the guns and carried them on board in spite of the resistance offered. He then returned to the fleet and reported his success as well as observations. At a council held by Dom Alvaro the officers of the squadron decided to abandon the idea of taking the Castle of Surat by scaling as the fleet had been discovered and the coast alarmed, the only person holding a contrary opinion being Dom Jorge de Menezes of Broach.[1]

D Alvaro reconnoitres the defences of Surat Castle.

Meanwhile, the Governor remained at Bassein attending to diverse business. Gasconading in the then approved manner, he gave out that he was proceeding to Ahmadabad to surprise the Sultan in his capital, where, in sight of the Turks who guarded him, he would roast him alive. This threat soon found currency, and to give it additional support Dom John ordered some great spits[2] to be prepared. We are told that the soldiers of those times used to wear little bright axes at their girdles, which served formally to cut the rigging and tackling of their prizes, but the true use to which these were put was to break open chests and bundles. The Governor not liking arms designed for such mean service, and seeing by chance a spruce soldier pass by with an axe, told him that only a sword became men of honour. 'Sir', answered the soldier, 'without this axe your honour's spits will be of little use, because we shall not be able to roast the King of Cambay whole!'[3]

The Governor indulges in gasconading.

Dom John de Castro now left Bassein and proceeding northward joined his son at the bar of Surat, and the combined flotilla reached the mouth of the river at Broach. Here an officer was sent up the stream to ascertain the situation, and he returned with the report that the Sultan's troops

He lands at Broach and braves a vast army.

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 230-1; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 5, Cap. 6.
2. Spits are bars on which meat that is to be roasted is made to rotate before fire.
3. Ibid., 231.

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covered the whole *campagna* by the side of the river as far as the eye could reach. The Governor gave orders for the fleet to sail up the Narbada till it cast anchor in sight of the army. Landing his troops he arranged them in line of battle, but the enemy stood on the defensive. Dom João addressed his officers in council in favour of attacking this vast army, but the disproportion in numbers was so great that he was dissuaded from the attempt. After remaining for three hours on the field, during which time the Sultan's generals made no offensive movement, he re-embarked his soldiers.[1]

Arrival at Div: change of commanders at the Fort.

At last the Governor arrived at Div for the second time and found that the danger to the fortress had disappeared. D. Mascarenhas again reminded him of the leave which he had asked for returning to the Kingdom. The Governor was in a position neither to grant nor to deny this reasonable demand, but was relieved from his difficulty by the arrival of an officer named Luis Falcao who came from Hormaz where he had been in command but had for some questionable practices fallen under a cloud. De Castro was able to offer him the command of the fortress of Div 'that he might by new services silence all former miscarriages remaining in that fortress which had on it the eyes of his Majesty and the whole world.' Luis Falcao accepted the charge.[2]

Further atrocities — Prabhas Patan burnt.

After arranging all matters, the Governor set sail once more for Bassein, and, going in sight of the coast of Por and Mangrol (Mangalor), he burnt the city of Prabhas Patan, the inhabitants saving their lives by flight. Besides this, one hundred and fourscore vessels lying at anchor in several ports on this coast were burnt by his order, the poor owners looking on with tears. Many other places on the coast, says our authority, were destroyed, 'this siege of Diu being more famous for vengeance than victory.' Arriving at Bassein, Dom João sent spies to observe the condition of the enemy, and these informed him that in the court at Ahmadabad there was not a family without tears, and that the Sultan had by a severe decree forbidden any mention by the people of the siege and battle of Div, 'as if laws could command grief and memory.'[3]

News of the victory arrives at Lisbon.

The fleet which left Goa at the end of 1546 reached Lisbon after a very prosperous voyage and the great news of the victory at Div won by Dom João de Castro was soon spread all over the country. The King and his court, clad in robes of state, attended the chapel on an appointed day to offer thanks to God with pious and royal offerings. A learned sermon was

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 231-33. Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 5, Cap. 7.
2. Ibid., 233.
3. Ibid., 234-5; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 5, Cap. 8.

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delivered in which were set forth the praises and virtues of the Governor. The King informed the Pope and the greatest Princes of Europe about the victory, and they all gave him joy 'as for the most famous action of the East.' The Governor in his letters had asked nothing for himself except permission to return home and as a modest request begged of the King two acres of ground adjoining his country-house at Cintra and ending in a little hill which for many generations was called *Monte das Alvicaras* (the Mountain of Good News).[1]

Honours and rewards conferred on the Governor.

King John III of Portugal, Donna Catherina and the Infante Dom Luis, all sent letters by the outgoing fleet to Dom João de Castro at Goa which show the great regard in which he was held by the royal family.[2] They praised his signal services and the timely reliefs which he sent in the midst of the rainy season to the beleagured garrison, as also his sacrificing his young son Dom Fernando, so full of promise, to the public service. The King declined to give the Governor the permission, which he asked, for returning to the Kingdom, on the ground that his services in the East could be ill spared by the State. He was, therefore, asked to continue in the same charge for another three years with the title of Viceroy, a distinction which he richly deserved but which, as we shall soon see, he did not live to enjoy. The sovereign also granted him a gratuity of ten thousand Crusados to meet the charges which he had undertaken, and letters patent were sent for his son Dom Alvaro appointing him Admiral of the Indian seas.[3] All the letters referred to above were dated October, 1547. The King sent out to India at the end of this year no less than six ships and the one that was the first to reach Goa, on May 23, 1548, brought to the Governor despatches containing the honours and gratuities described above.

The Viceroy laid up with mortal illness at Goa.

But João de Castro was not destined to enjoy either the rewards or the dignity. Though only forty-eight years of age, his strength had been worn out by the exertions and hardships of his wars. He had left Bassein in April 1548 ill with fever, and at Goa his sickness soon betrayed mortal symptoms, so that he decided to hand over the charge of his high office. He called for De Albuquerque, the Bishop of Goa, as also for the Commander-in-chief, the Chancellor, the Auditor-General and the Controller of the Revenue, and to them he delivered over the State. Summoning next the magistracy of the city, the Vicar-General of India,

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 240.
2. Queen Catherine, when the account of the victory and triumph reached Portugal, is said to have remarked that Dom João de Castro "had fought like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen" (Whiteway, op. cit., 314; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 4, Cap. 6.)
3. Ibid., 254-61; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 6, Cap. 7 and 8.

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the Guardian of the Franciscans, Father Francis Xavier, as also the Officers of the King's Revenue, he made a short speech which deserves to be reproduced. In striking contrast to many others who held the same high office, and who returned with immense wealth to Portugal, De Castro could say that he died in honourable poverty, a fact which has made his name famous in the annals of the Portuguese in the East. Here is what he said to the council assembled near his death bed:

> "I am not ashamed, Gentlemen, to tell you that the Viceroy of India wants in this sickness those conveniences the meanest soldier finds in the hospitals. I came to serve, not to traffic in the East. I would to yourselves have pawned the bones of my son, and did pawn the hairs of my beard, to assure you I had no other plate or hangings. There is not this day money enough in the house to buy me a hen, for in the fleet I set forth the soldiers fed upon the Governor's salary before the King's pay. I request you during the time of this sickness to order me out of the King's revenue a proportionable maintenance."[1]

His honourable poverty.

After this unusual speech, the viceroy asked presently for a missal and took a solemn oath on the Gospel to the effect that he was not indebted to the royal treasury even by a single Crusado; that he had never received any gratification from Christian, Jew, Moor or Pagan; that all the household stuff employed for carrying out the authority and maintaining the dignity of his high office had been brought with him from Portugal; that he was so poor that he had not the means of buying another quilt than what they saw on his bed; and that he had presented his son Dom Alvaro with a sword to return to the kingdom, the hilt of which was set with jewels of small value. He desired the council to put down all this on record in the public books of the city.[2]

His death in the arms of St. Francis Xavier, 6 June, 1548.

Finding that his end was drawing near, the great Viceroy secluded himself with the famous missionary Father Francis Xavier, 'providing for so doubtful a voyage so secure a pilot, who all the time of his sickness was his nurse, reconciler and Governor.' Having no riches to make a fresh disposal of, Dom João made no other will than that which he had left in Portugal with the Bishop of Angra on the eve of his departure for India. Receiving in his last moments the sacraments of the Church, he gave up his soul to God on the 6th of June 1548 in the forty-eighth year of his age and the third of his government in India. He was thus in the prime of life when death came upon him. In his study were found three pieces of small money, as also a Discipline

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 263-4; Couto, Dec. 6, Lib. 6, Cap. 9.
2. Ibid.

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which seemed to have been often used, and the locks of his beard which he had pawned. He had ordered his body to be deposited in the Church of the Franciscans at Goa, to be translated later to his Chapel at Cintra.[1]

His tomb in St. Dominic's convent at Bemsica near Lisbon.

Some reference to the last resting place in Portugal of Dom João de Castro will not be out of place in the history of a province with which his name is so indissolubly connected. Some years after his death his bones were carried to Portugal where they were received with reverent piety, and, after lying for many days in St. Dominic's Convent at Lisbon, were ultimately deposited in the convent of the same name at Bemsica,[2] two miles from the capital. Here they remained for several years until the deceased hero's grandson Francisco de Castro, Bishop and Inquisitor-General, erected a beautiful chapel attached to the convent as a final resting place for them. This Chapel of the Castros, as we may call it, contains the monument of the great viceroy with an epitaph upon it, as also of his son Dom Alvaro, who died in 1575 at the age of fifty, and whose remains were laid by the side of his distinguished father.[3]

Memorial slab at Goa of the victory in Gujarat

An interesting memorial of the victory of the Governor over the ruler of Gujarat has been for centuries preserved at the city of Old Goa. We have already mentioned that, at the time of the Triumph, a great arch was erected after demolishing a portion of the city-wall, and that it was covered with brocade and velvet. We also learn that above this arch was placed a brazen flag bearing the image of St. Martin,[4] on whose festival

1. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, op. cit., 264.

2. The Convent of St Dominic of Bemsica is situated two miles distant from Lisbon and is so named after a neighbouring village. In early centuries it was a country-house of the Kings of Portugal to which they resorted for diversion from business or for hunting. King John I gave up this palace, with the adjacent grounds, gardens and orchards, to the Dominican Order (as an act of thanksgiving to God for his victories in the year 1399) for the founding of a convent. Succeeding rulers of Portugal continued to endow it with revenue to be spent on various religious ceremonials. The convent has been famous as the resort of the strictest observers of the Catholic religion who " under the name of 'Recollets' allow no swerving or indulgence from the first institution." Here, as to a school of virtues, retired the most eminent members of the Order of the Dominicans to rest themselves after their Prelacies in holy leisure devoted to God. (Ibid., 264 68.)

3. Ibid, 265-6.

4. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (c. 316–400), was born of heathen parents in Pannonia. When ten years old he became a catechumen, and at 15 he reluctantly entered the army. While stationed at Amiens he divided his cloak with a beggar, and on the following night had the vision of Christ making known to his angels this act of charity to Himself. Soon afterwards he received baptism.

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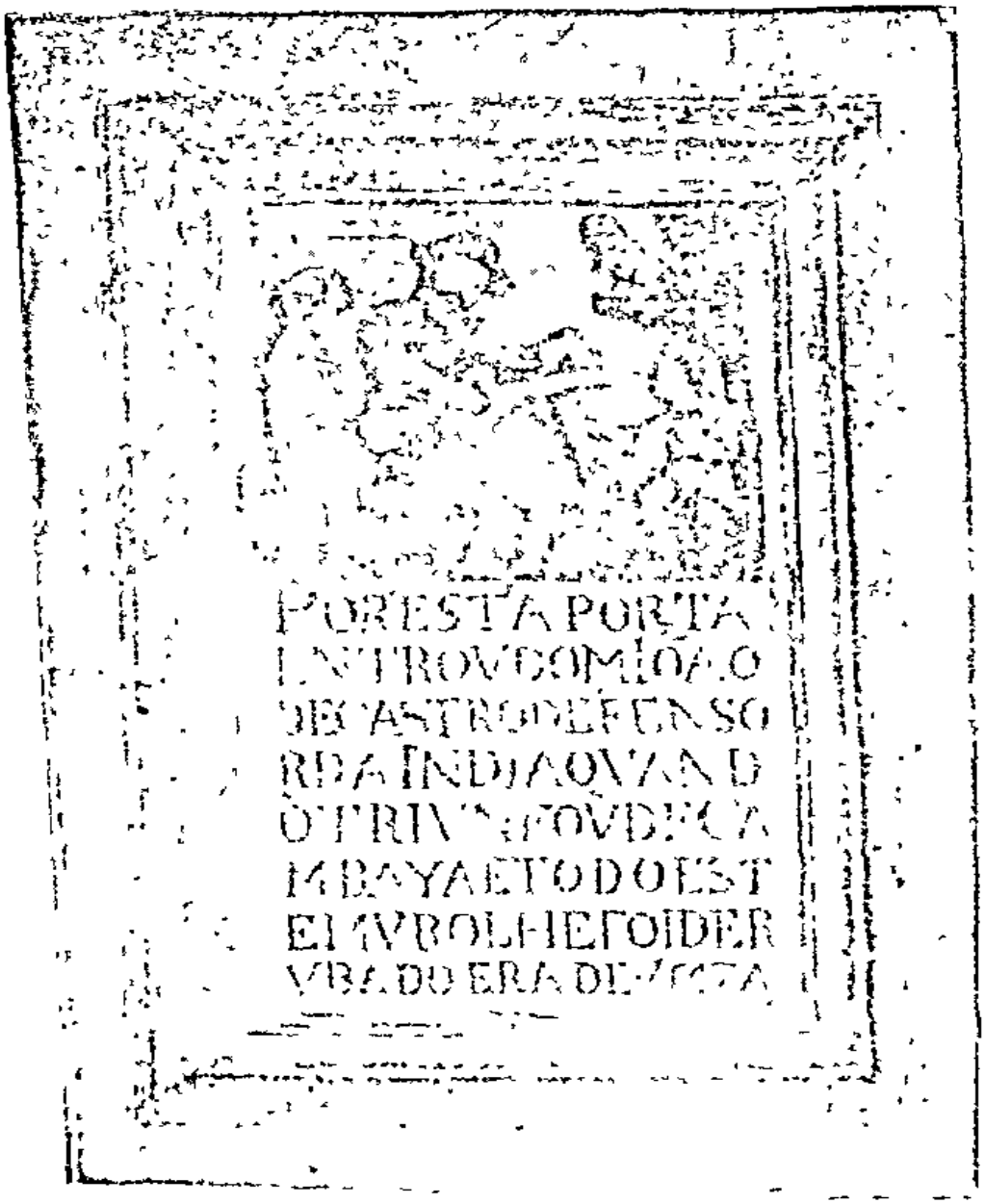

INSCRIPTION TABLET AT OLD GOA TO COMMEMORATE THE TRIUMPH OF D JOAO DE CASTRO IN 1547 FOR THE VICTORY OVER GUJARAT

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day the signal victory over the armies of Gujarat had been won by Dom John de Castro at Div. To commemorate this event a slab with an inscription in gold was fixed in the city wall. After the ceremonies connected with the Triumph were over, the Governor ordered an altar to be raised at this spot, and over it, not long after, the Chapel of St. Martin was built. Many centuries later, when this building had fallen down along with the Royal Hospital and many other monuments of Old Goa, the inscription slab was transferred to the Chapel of St. Catherine, which was adjacent to it, and here it may still be seen. This slab represents St. Martin mounted on horseback and giving part of his garment to a beggar, with the following inscription in Portuguese very rudely carved in uneven letters : [1]

> "Por esta porta entrou Dom João de Castro, defensor da India, quando triunfou de Cambaya e todo este muro lhe foi derubado, Era de 1547 a (nos)."[2]

The English translation of the above is as under :

"By this gate Dom João de Castro, Defender of India,[3] entered when he *conquered* Cambay,[4] and *this* whole wall *was destroyed for* him. Era of 1547 years."

—

left the army and joined Hilary of Poitiers. His zeal against the Arians roused persecution against him and for some time he led an ascetic life on a desert island near Genoa. In 371–2 A.D. the people of Tours chose him for their Bishop. He did much to extirpate idolatry from his diocese and from France and to extend the monastic system. He died at Candes in the year 400 A.D., and is commemorated by the Roman Church on Nov. 11. He is the patron saint of France and of the cities of Mainz and Wurzburg.

1. Correa, *Lendas*, IV. 637 ; Diogo de Couto, Dec. VI, Liv. IV, Cap. VI ; *Oriente Conquistado*, Part I, Conq. L, Div. L, Sd. 37. (See also Fonseca, J. N., *Sketch of the City of Goa*, 227–8).

2. For full details of this most interesting inscription slab, a photograph of which was kindly secured for the author by Rev. H. Heras through the Very Rev. Fr. da Dosta, Canon of the See of Goa, see article entitled "A Portuguese Inscription of the Goa Governor Dom John de Castro" by H. Heras in *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1933. As stated in the text, the inscription is very rudely carved, the words are not separated from each other nor are the last words in each line divided by syllables.

3. The title of "Defender of India" is not less strange than that of "Governor" or "Viceroy of India" assumed by Dom J. de Catstro and others. But by 'India' the Portuguese writers meant, not the sub-continent as we do now, but only their possessions in the East under the Governor of Goa which constituted the *Estado da India*.

4. Cambay stands here, as usual, for the "Kingdom of Cambay," the name by which the Arab and Portuguese navigators and merchants, as well as literary writers, designated the Sultanate of Gujarat, from the fact that the main seaport of this kingdom for several centuries was Cambay.

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PART II—SHANTIDAS JAWAHARI, THE GREAT JAIN MAGNATE OF GUJARAT IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

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CHAPTER V

FAMILY AND CAREER OF SHANTIDAS JAWAHARI AND ACCOUNT OF HIS JAIN TEMPLE AT AHMADABAD

Importance of Shantidas in the history of Gujarat.

Jainism has produced in Gujarat in the course of centuries many distinguished religious guides and teachers whose names are held in high reverence by the community. But among its temporal magnates there is no name which can equal that of Shantidas Jawahari, who is said to have received, according to an old historical tradition, the title of Nagarsheth or 'Lord Mayor' of Ahmadabad in the early years of the seventeenth century. Without any connection with the official nobility of the Mughal Empire, Shantidas was able to exercise, by virtue of his business connections and his vast riches, an influence at the court of successive Mughal Emperors from the time of Jahangir to the accession of Aurangzeb which must have been envied by many an exalted *amir* or mansabdar of the Empire.[1]

His ancestry.

According to tradition, the ancestors of Shantidas[2] were descended from the royal Rajput house of the Sisodias of Udaipur, it being not uncommon to find Rajputs adopting the Jain religion.[3] Shantidas was probably born during the last decade or two of the reign of Akbar, and the period of his active life was comprised during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, for he died in the first or second year of the reign of Aurangzeb. His father

1. Some popular legends are current in the capital of Gujarat about Shantidas, e.g. that he owed his rise to fame and fortune to the fact that, during a visit on business to Surat, where he went to a temple to offer his prayers, he secured by accident the benefit of the Chintamani-*mantra* which had been prepared for another merchant bearing the same name; also that, during a visit to Jahangir's Court at Delhi, when the Emperor desired that he should be evaluated by the jewellers, Shantidas won the royal favour by the ingenious reply with which he solved the enigma. (See *Jain Aitihasic Rasmala*, ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, pp. 2-7; also Maganlal Vakhatchand's *History of Ahmadabad*, in Gujarati, 1851, pp. 270-75). These stories are apocryphal and have no historical value.

2. The famous jeweller Shantidas, the son of Sahasrakirna, whose career is reviewed here, should be distinguished from a contemporary of the same name, Shantidas, the son of Mania, who is said to have given his patronage to a Jain work known as *Dharmasangrah* written by Manvijaya Upadhyaya in Samvat 1731 (A.D. 1674). The great jeweller died about 1659 or 1660 long before the date of this work. He was besides an Oswal while his namesake belonged to the Shrivamsa branch. (*Aitihasic Ras Sangrah*, Part III, 54 *ff*).

3. *Jain Aitihasic Rasmala* (*Shri Shantidas Ras*, etc.), ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, pp. 1, 49.

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Sahasrakirna had two wives: by the elder was born Vardhaman, and the younger, whose name was Saubhagdevi, was the mother of Shantidas. During a long and eventful career Shantidas appears to have travelled extensively in India both for religious and for professional purposes, for he was not only one of the foremost jewellers and financiers of his day but as a devout Jain leader he considered it his duty to make frequent pilgrimages to the holy centres of Jainism.

The *Chintamani-prashasti* and its unique value, 1640.

An unpublished poem in Sanskrit verse, described as the *Chintamani-prashasti*, which was discovered by Muni Jinvijayaji in an old Jain work, helps to throw considerable light on the family of Shantidas and on various events in his career up to a certain date. The *prashasti*, judged by its contents, was evidently associated with the temple of Chintamani-Parshwanath, which was erected at Ahmadabad by Shantidas and his brother, and it supplies us with some exact dates both about the temple and the life of Shantidas. The colophon of the poem states that 'this song of praise of the temple of Chintamani-Parshwanath was written in 1697 S. on the second day, Friday, of the bright half of Pausha, by Vidyāsaubhagya, the pupil of the learned Satyasaubhagya (December 4, 1640 A.D.). The *prashasti* was thus evidently composed some fifteen years after the formal consecration of the great temple. We have also to note that no event in the career of the hero later than 1640 has been mentioned in this record.[1]

Events in the career of Shantidas up to 1640.

The earliest event referred to in the Chintamani poem is dated Samvat 1669 (A.D. 1612-13) when Shantidas consecrated an image of Mahasnath at the holy centre of Shatrunjaya. Five years later, in 1618, he became a Sanghpati and, in the company of a large number of *sadhus*, led a Jain pilgrimage to Siddhagiri where he spent large sums of money in charity. In 1621, jointly with his elder brother Vardhaman, he built the great temple in the suburb of Bibipur at Ahmadabad, and, four years later, in 1625, he consecrated the image of Parshwanath in this temple with the help of the learned scholar Vāchakendra. All these events are comprised during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir. On the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne, Shantidas received from the Emperor gifts of horses and elephants in 1628. Two years later, in 1630 (Samvat 1686), Shantidas used his great influence to secure for his religious head Muktisagar the dignity of *acharya* at the hands of the great Jain divine Vijayadevsuri. This ceremony took place at Ahmadabad in the temple of Mahavir Swami and Muktisagar now

He secures the *Suripad* for Muktisagar.

1. The *Chintamani-prashasti*, upon which some of the information about the family of Shantidas and about his temple has been based in this chapter, has not yet been published.

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assumed the name of Rajsagarsuri by which he is familiarly known in the history of the Jain Church. This famous scholar became the founder of a special *gaccha* in Gujarat known as the Sagargaccha and he counted Shantidas among his foremost supporters and followers at Ahmadabad. We are told that Vastupal, the nephew of the great jeweller, being the son of his brother Vardhaman, spent large sums of money in the celebration of the accession to the *suripad* of Muktisagar in the capital city of Gujarat.[1]

The wives and sons of Shantidas up to 1640.

The poem gives very full details of the ancestry of Shantidas, who is mentioned as belonging to the Ukesh family, and his descent is traced from a remote ancestor called Padma. His brother Vardhaman is said to have had six sons. Shantidas himself appears to have been a uxorious person, having married four wives, one after another, upto the year 1640. The names of these ladies are mentioned as well as of their respective sons, who were Panaji, Ratnaji, Kapurchand and Lakshmichand. We shall refer later to an important farman granted by Aurangzeb to this last-mentioned son who appears to have inherited the status and title of his father and to whose line belong all the future Nagarsheths of Ahmadabad.[2] Among several other factors that go to confirm the authenticity of the information conveyed by the *Chintamani-prashasti* is the reference to Azam Khan,[3] the great Viceroy of Gujarat, in one of its concluding verses. It is well-known that this powerful grandee was Subahdar of the province from 1636-42 under Shah Jahan, and he was thus in power when the inscription was written in 1640. The verse referred to above reads as follows: 'Victory to Azam Khan, the righteous chief of Gujarat, at the mention of whose name the bodies of his enemies tremble with fear, their eyes roll up, and their hearts fail.'

Reference to Azam Khan, the Viceroy.

Shantidas builds a great temple at Ahmadabad, 1621.

The most important event in the early period of the career of Shantidas was no doubt the commencement in the year 1621 (Samvat 1678) of the magnificent Jain temple dedicated to Chintamani-Parshwanath in a suburb of Ahmadabad.[1] The edifice must have been completed four years later in 1625, for in this year Shantidas is said to have

1. *Jain Aitihasic Gurjar Kavya-Sanchaya*, Ed. by Shriman Jinvijayaji, (Bhavnagar), p. 50.

2. For the ancestry and family of Shantidas see Appendix A at the end of this chapter.

3. Azam Khan's government of Gujarat is famous for the suppression of the turbulent Koli and Kathi tribes; for the construction of the great Castle at Ranpur; and for the building of the magnificent caravanserai near the Bhadra Towers at Ahmadabad.

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formally installed therein the image of the Tirthankar. The temple is said to have been called Manatunga.[1] It was situated in the then flourishing suburb of Bibipur, which is now known as Saraspur, and the sacred monument was erected jointly by Shantidas and his elder brother Vardhaman. It is a matter for no small regret that while the great Muslim monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at Ahmadabad still remain in almost perfect condition, this great Jain temple, built in the seventeenth century, has practically disappeared owing to reasons which we shall describe later.

Mandelslo's account of the temple, 1638.

Though Shantidas's temple at Saraspur is now no more, an elaborate account of the same has been, strangely enough, preserved in the work of a young German traveller in Gujarat, Albert de Mandelslo, who visited Ahmadabad in 1638, *i.e.*, within twelve years of the completion of the famous temple. He informs us that it was without dispute one of the noblest structures that could be seen in this city and adds that it was at the time of his visit new, 'for the Founder, who was a rich Banya merchant named Shantidas, was living in my time'. According to his description, the temple stood in the centre of a large court which was enclosed by a high stone wall. At its entrance there stood two elephants[2] of black marble 'done to the life' and upon one of them was placed the effigy of the builder. The temple building was vaulted and its walls adorned with human and animal figures. About it were the usual cloisters with cells each containing a marble statue, in white or black, representing the Tirthankars of the Jain Pantheon, though our traveller, like many others, thought them to be images of women, naked, sitting cross-legged![3]

Prince Aurangzeb converts the temple into a mosque, 1645.

In 1645, Prince Aurangzeb, then Viceroy of Gujarat under his father Shah Jahan, ordered the beautiful temple built by Shantidas at the suburb of Saraspur to be desecrated and it was converted into a mosque under the name of *Quwwat-ul-Islam* (the Might of Islam).[4] The meagre reference to this event in the *Mirat i-Ahmadi* may be supplemented by a quotation from the French traveller M. de Thevenot, who visited Ahmadabad in 1666. He says:—

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1. For the description of the temple given in the *Chaitramasi prabhati* see Appendix B at the end of this chapter.

2. Their names are given as Vaghaji and Kalyanmal in the *Chaitramasi prabhati*, verse 44.

3. 'Mandelslo's Travels into the East Indies,' translated by J. Davies, London, 1662, p. 50; See also Commelinarius, M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (1911), pp. 23-24. For the full text of Mandelslo's account of the temple see Appendix C to this chapter.

4. *Mirat-e-Ahmadi*, Pers. Text, ed. by Syed Nawab Ali, Part I.

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"Ahmedabad being inhabited also by a great numbers of heathens, there are Pagods or idol-temples in it. That which was called the Pagod of Santidas was the chief, before Aurangzeb converted it into a mosque. When he performed that ceremony he caused a cow to be killed in the place, knowing very well that, after such an action, the gentiles, according to their law, could worship no more therein. All round the temple there is a cloister furnished with lovely cells, beautified with figures of marble in relief, representing naked women sitting after the oriental fashion. The inside roof of the mosque is pretty enough and the walls are full of the figures of men and beasts; but Aurangzeb, who hath always made a show of an affected devotion, which at length raised him to the throne, caused the noses of all these figures, which added a great deal of magnificence to that mosque, to be beat off."[1]

Thevenot's account of the desecration.

The famous French jeweller and traveller, M. Tavernier, who paid many visits to Ahmadabad in the course of his travels, is evidently referring to the Jain temple built by Shantidas when he says :—

Tavernier's reference to the Temple.

"There was a Pagoda in this place which the Muhammadans took possession of in order to turn it into a mosque. Before entering it you traverse three great courts paved with marble, and surrounded by galleries, and you are not allowed to place foot in the third without removing your shoes. The exterior of the mosque is ornamented with mosaic, the greater part of which consists of agates of different colours, obtained from the mountains of Cambay, only two days' journey from thence."[2]

It is not probable that so powerful a citizen and so devout a Jain as Shantidas would allow this insult offered even by an Imperial Prince to a monument built at such immense cost and dedicated to one of the Supreme Souls of the Jain religion to pass without making a representation to the Emperor. This may be premised from the grant of an Imperial farman, dated July 3, 1648, about three years after the Prince's viceroyalty, directing Ghairat Khan and other officials in Gujarat to restore the building to Shantidas and to make him complete restitution for all damage done. This most valuable historical document was in 1888 submitted by the then Nagarsheth Premabhai Hemabhai to the Superintendent of the Revenue Survey at Ahmadabad for

Shah Jahan restores the temple to Shantidas.

1. *Travels of M. de Thevenot*, trans. by Lovell, London, 1687, Part III, p. 10.
2. J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, I, 72.

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inspection.[1] But all traces of it were forgotten for about half a century until the author was able, after much labour, to locate it in the possession of Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai, the grandson of Premabhai, at the end of 1932, in a long-neglected bundle containing several other valuable farmans.

Ghairat Khan as deputy for Dara in Gujarat.

This farman bears at its top the seal of Dara Shukoh and was granted on the 21st of Jumad-as-Sani of the Hijri year 1058 (July 3, 1648), being addressed to the officers of the Subah of Gujarat, and especially to Ghairat Khan, on whom special epithets of praise and regard are bestowed. The date is interesting, for we learn from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that on this day the Emperor appointed his eldest son Dara as Viceroy of Gujarat in succession to Shaistah Khan who had been transferred.[2] But Dara's appointment was a nominal one, for he was allowed to remain at court and to carry on the government of his province by sending this Ghairat Khan as his *naib* or deputy to Ahmadabad. It is possible, therefore, that the farman was delivered to the latter on this day. As the farman has never been published before, we give below a full translation of the same :

Toghra (in golden ink) : Farman-i- Abul Muzaffar Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Kiran-i-Sani Shah Jahan Badshah-i-Ghazi.

Nishan : Nishan-i-Alishan Shahzada Buland Iqbal Muhammad Dara Shukoh.

Seal (in black) Muhammad Dara Shukoh *ibn* Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi.

Shah Jahan's farman for the restoration of the temple, 3 July, 1648.

'Be it known to the governors, subahdars and mutasaddis, present and future, of the province of Gujarat, especially the one who has been worthy of various favours (*here follow various honorific epithets*), *viz.*, Ghairat Khan, who has been reliant on and gladdened by royal favours, that formerly, in respect of the temple of the leading person of the time (*subdat-al-akran*), Satidas Jawahari, an exalted and blessed order had been issued to Umdat-ul-Mulk Shaistah Khan to this effect: Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur had constructed in that place some mihrabs (prayer-arches) and had given it the name of a mosque; and after that Mulla Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that this building, by reason of its being the property of another person, could not be considered a mosque according to the inviolable Islamic law; a world-obeyed order, therefore,

1. *Jain Aitihasic Kavyasangraha*, Ed. by Mohanlal D. Desai, Part I, 30.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Part I, 224.

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obtained the honour of being issued that this building is the property of Satidas, and that because of the mihrab which the famous Prince had made in that place the above-mentioned person should not be harassed, and that the arch should be removed and the aforesaid building should be handed over to him.

'Now, at this time, the world-obeyed and illustrious order has been issued that the mihrab which the victorious and exalted Prince has constructed may be retained and a wall be built near the same as a screen between the temple and the mihrab. Hence it is ordained that, since his exalted Majesty has, as an act of favour, granted the aforesaid temple to Satidas, he should be in possession of it as before and he may worship there according to his creed in any way he likes, and no one should obstruct or trouble him; also that some of the Faqirs (beggars) who have made their abode in that place should be turned out, and Satidas should be relieved from the troubles and quarrels on their account.

'And since it has been represented to His Majesty that some of the Bohras have removed and carried away the materials of that temple, in the event of this being so, those materials should be got back from them and should be restored to the person referred to above (Satidas), and if the aforesaid materials have been used up, their price should be recovered from them and should be paid to Satidas.

'In this matter, this order should be considered extremely urgent and there should be no deviation from or disobedience to it. Written on the twenty-first of the month of Jumad-as-Sani in the year 1058 H. (July 3, 1648).'[1]

This royal Farman may possibly have given some satisfaction to Shantidas who had built the temple, but by the Jain citizens of Ahmadabad the edifice must have been considered for ever desecrated so that, as Thevenot says, no worship therein was possible. Neither was it likely that the Muslims would utilise the building as a mosque after the Imperial orders. Under these circumstances there is no wonder that the monument fell gradually into decay and to-day it has practically disappeared, many of its stones and materials having been carted away and employed to build other structures.[2] There is little doubt that it cost its builder many lakhs of rupees at a time when the value of money was far higher than it is now. It is said to have resembled the beautiful Jain temple built by Sheth Hathising to the north of the Delhi

The temple is abandoned and has now disappeared.

1. The reverse of this Farman contains the following brief endorsement: 'through the humblest of servants, Biharimal.'

2. Maganlal Vakhatchand's *History of Ahmadabad* (in Gujarati), 142-3,

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gate at Ahmadabad about the middle of the nineteenth century at a cost of about twelve lakhs of rupees.

From a later reference to this temple in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* we learn that, at the time of its conversion into a mosque by Sultan Aurangzeb, two of the marble images, each weighing a hundred *man*, had been buried underground by Shantidas, though it was given out that these would be destroyed. In 1743, when the Emperor Mahammad Shah was on the throne of Delhi, and the Subah of Gujarat was given to Fakhrudin Khan, who governed through Jawanmard Khan as his deputy, these idols were again publicly set up at Ahmadabad. The historian says that 'marking the weakness of Islam and the decline of religious zeal' at this period, the descendants of Shantidas obtained, by means of a *douceur*, permission to bring these images on carts into the city where they were installed for public worship in an underground temple which had been in existence for a long time and where the Jains used in secret to carry on their worship owing to the fear of the Musalmans.[1]

The images of this temple again set up in 1743.

We may now refer to an imperial Mughal farman granted to Shantidas by Shah Jahan in the early years of his reign in which the Emperor makes certain grants which are different in their nature from those Palitana grants which are the subject of several well-known farmans of a later date. This farman, now in the possession of the firm of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, was written on the 21st May of the Ilahi month of Adar in the second year of the coronation, *i. e.*, in 1629–30. The document states that it had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that the temples of 'Chintaman' and 'Satrunja' and 'Sankhesara'[2] and 'Kesari'[3] were in existence long before the auspicious accession, and that there were three *poshals*[4] at Ahmadabad, four at Khambayat, one at Surat and one at Radhanpur in the possession of Shantidas. The order was, therefore, now issued to the effect that no one should put up at those places and houses for they had been granted to the Jains. The

Farman of 1629 about Jain temples and *poshals*.

1. *Mirat i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, Ed. by Syed Nawab Ali, Part 2, p. 322.

2. Sankheshvar is situated near Panchasar in the district of Munjpur, 24 miles south of Radhanpur in North Gujarat. It is still a famous place of Jain pilgrimage, but the present temples are modern and raised on the site of old buildings that have quite disappeared. (*Bombay Gazetteer, V*, 347) The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* describes this temple as 'Sankh Parasnath, situated in pargana Munjpur, Sarkar Patan'. (Nawab Ali and Seddon, *Suppl.* 139).

3. The temple of Kesharianath, sacred to Adinath or Rishabhdev, is situated in the village of Dhuleva, about 36 miles from the city of Udaipur in the state of the same name.

4. A *poshal* is a place where a Jain stays when keeping his *posha* vow, one of the four disciplinary vows of the Jains (cf. *Sanskrit, Uposhatha-shālā*).

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farman proceeds to add that the Sevras, 'who recite the books Sagar and Sarogun' were permitted to remain in the Subah of Gujarat and they are enjoined not to fight among themselves but to engage themselves in prayers for the continuation of the State.[1]

APPENDIX A.

(I) THE ANCESTORS OF SHANTIDAS JAWAHARI.

According to the *Chintamani-prashasti*, Shantidas was born in 'the illustrious family of Ukesha, the birthplace of wealth'. His ancestry, as given in the *prashasti*, is as follows :

Padma = Padmadevi.
|
Kshmadhar = Jivani.
|
Sahalua (?) = Pati (?)
|
Harapati = Punai.
|
Vachha (?) = Sagaradevi
|
Sahasrakirana

= (1) Kumari — Vardhaman = Viramdevi.; Pradyotan

= (2) Saubhagyadevi — Shantidas = Rupam. — Panjika = Devaki.

(II) FAMILIES OF VARDHAMAN AND OF SHANTIDAS (upto 1540).

(according to the *Chintamani-prashasti*).

Vardhaman

Vastupal; Raisingh; Chandrabhanu; Vijaya; Sundara; Kalyanmal.

Shantidas.

= (1) Rupa — Panaji
= (2) Kapur — Ratnaji (b. 1629)
= (3) Phula — Karpurchand (b. 1635)
= (4) Vachhi — Lakshmichand (b. 1640).

1. A photographic facsimile of this Farman (marked E), as well as those of several others, with imperfect and faulty translations, will be found in a small book entitled "Memorial from... Sheth Anandji Kalianji the accredited representatives of the Jain Community of India in reference to the grievances about their rights re : the Shatrunjaya Hill" (Bombay: *The Times Press*, 1925).

2. This name is confirmed by a couplet in other works. (See *Ashtam*

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Evidently, Manekchand, who is mentioned in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and in some of the imperial farmans as the son of Shantidas, and who loaned, along with others, large sums of money to Prince Murad Bakhsh at Ahmadabad in 1658, was born after 1640 which is the date of the composition of the *Chintamani-prashasti*.

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SHANTIDAS GIVEN IN THE CHINTAMANI-PRASHASTI.

'In S. 1678 (A.D. 1621), Vardhaman and Shantidas, who had reached the zenith of their fortune, who had taken the religious vow along with the members of their family, who had been leading a very pure life, and who had heard that building temples led to good luck, built a magnificent temple in the suburb of Bibipur (verses 45-49). On the arches of the temple there were statues of females resembling celestial nymphs, while at the door of the temple there was the Panchapatra for protection. The lofty steps of the temple indicated the way for the heavenward march of the devotees. There were six halls in the temple called Meghanāda, Sinhanāda, Suryanāda, Rangarama, Khela and Gudhagotra. It had two turrets, four square temples around, and four underground shrines with idols of the Jina (verses 50-54).'[1]

APPENDIX C.

MANDELSLO'S ACCOUNT OF THE TEMPLE OF SHANTIDAS AT AHMADABAD IN 1638.

'We returned into the city to see the principal mosque (temple) of the Benjans (Banyas) which without dispute is one of the noblest structures that can be seen. It was then new for the Founder, who was a rich Benjan merchant named Santidas, was living in my time. The mosque stands in the middle of a great court which is enclosed with a high wall of freestone, all about which there is a gallery much after the manner of our cloisters in monasteries, having also its seats or cells and in every cell a marble statue, white or black, representing a

Visit to the temple of Shantidas, 1638.

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1. The Sanskrit text of the *Chintamani Prashasti*, which is corrupt, has been kindly rendered into English for the author by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar.

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woman naked[1] sitting and having her legs lying cross under her according to the mode of the country. There were some had three statues, to wit, a great one between two little ones.

'At the entrance into the mosque there are two elephants of black marble done to the life, and upon one of them the effigy of the founder. The whole mosque is vaulted and the walls adorned with several figures of men and other living creatures. There was not anything within the mosque, save that at the further end of the structure there were three chapels or obscure places, divided one from the other by wooden rails, wherein might be seen statues of marble, like those we had seen in the cells, with this difference only that there was a lighted lamp before that which stood in the middle.

Black elephants in life size at the entrance.

'We saw there also one of their Priests who was then busy in receiving, from the hands of such as came thither to do their devotions, flowers wherewith he adorned his images; as also oil for the lamps which hung before the rails, and wheat and salt for the sacrifice, while he set the flowers about the statues. His mouth and nose were covered with a linen cloth, lest the impurity of his breath should profane the mystery, and coming ever and anon near the lamp he muttered over certain prayers and rubbed his hands up and down in the flame thereof as if he had washed them in the smoke, and sometimes stroked his face with them . . . But he continued this foolery so long that we had not the patience to see the end of it; so that we left him in the midst thereof to go and see the sepulchres which are the most remarkable rarities of the city.'[2]

The priests and the ceremonial performed in the temple.

1. Mandelslo, like M. de Thevenot later in 1666, mistakes the marble statues of the Jain Tirthankara in the cells for naked women sitting cross legged. For the nature of these images see Commissariat, M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, (Oxford Press), 25n.

2. J. Albert de Mandelslo's *Travels into the Indies*, trans. by J. Davies, London, 1662, p. 30.

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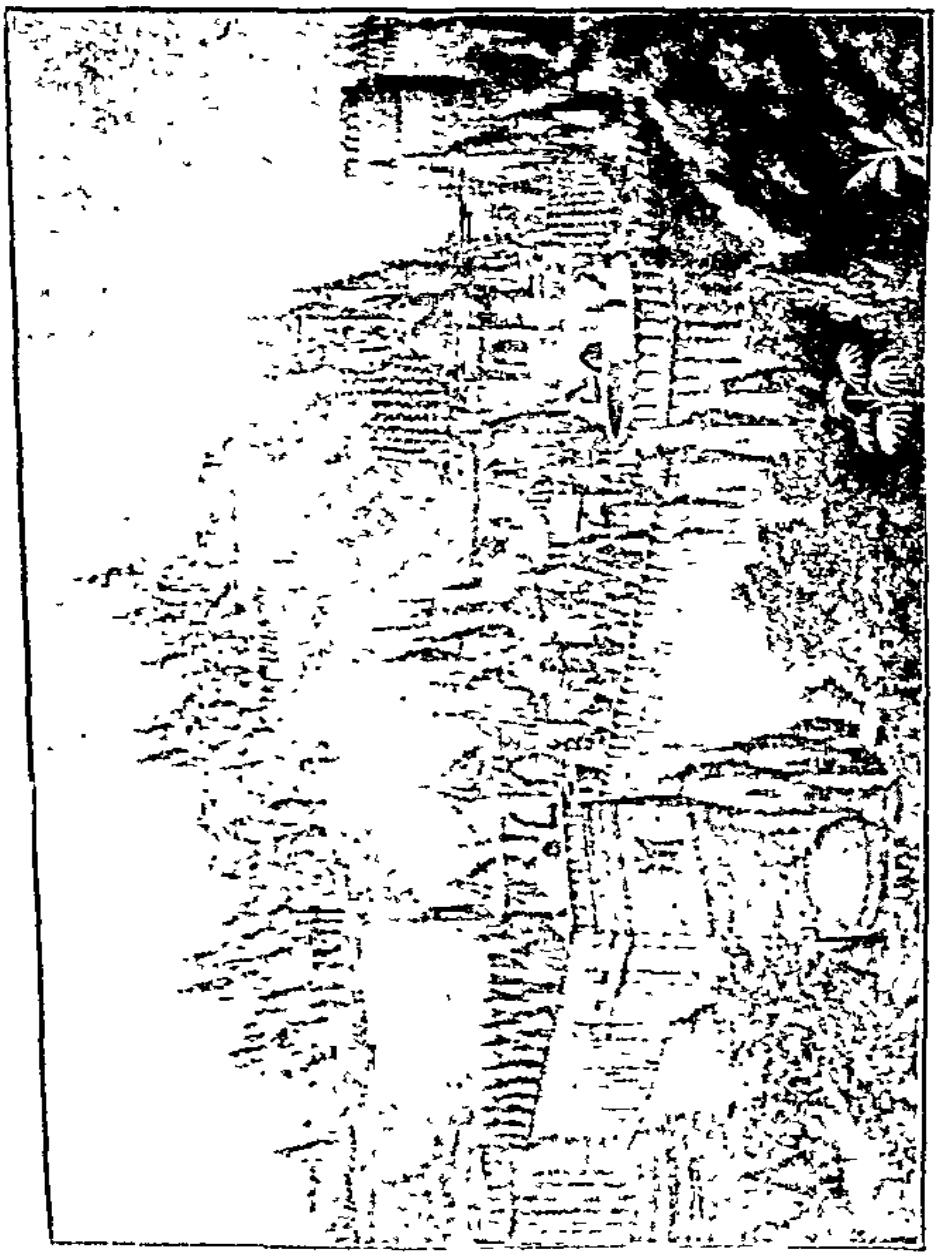

JAIN TEMPLES ON THE SACRED HILL OF SHATRUNJAYA AT PALITANA
(From Hope and Fergusson's Architecture at Ahmedabad, 1866)

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he was viceroy of the province of Gujarat, and it is dated 29th Muharram in the 30th year of the 'auspicious' coronation of his father (7 November, 1656). The *toghra* at the head of the document bears the name of the Emperor with the *nishan* of Shahzada Sultan Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, along with the Prince's seal. The Farman is addressed to the officers, present and future, of the Sarkar of Sorath (Kathiavad), and declares that Shantidas, the Jeweller, the Chief of the Grandees, had represented that in the village (*mauza*) of Palitana, situated in the said sarkar, there was a temple of the Hindus called Shatrunja,[1] frequented by pilgrims. Therefore, the exalted order had been issued that the above-mentioned village was granted as *Inam* to the said grandee. Knowing this, the officers should not interfere with him in any way. Though the grant is made expressly by name to Shantidas, it was apparently in trust, for it runs, 'so that the people of the adjoining places may come there for pilgrimage (*tirtha*) with peace of heart.' An interesting feature of this Farman is the fact that the reverse bears the words: 'Through the humblest of disciples Ali Naqi with his seal'. We know from history that this able and devoted officer was the diwan of the province of Gujarat during the period of Prince Murad Bakhsh's viceroyalty, and that he was shortly after this date destined to meet a violent death at Ahmadabad in 1657 at the hands of his master, when the hot-headed Prince killed him during a drunken frenzy.

1. Prince Murad's grant of Palitana when Viceroy, Nov. 7, 1656.

The above-mentioned grant of the village of Palitana is confirmed and enlarged in the following year by an Imperial Farman[2] granted by the Emperor Shah Jahan and dated the 19th of the auspicious month of Ramazan in the 31st year of the *most holy coronation, corresponding to 1067 Hijri* (June 21, 1657). The *toghra* contains the full official titles of the Emperor and near it is a beautiful square seal of this ruler. The document states that the Pargana (*not* village) of Palitana, which is called Shatrunja, situated within the jurisdiction of the Sarkar of Sorath, a dependency of the Subah of Ahmadabad, has been given as *Jagir* to the happy and fortunate son Prince Muhammad Murad Baksh:

2. Shah Jahan's Farman, dated June 21, 1657.

1. Shatrunjaya, the name by which the sacred hill of Palitana in Kathiawar is most commonly known, means, literally, the place of victory (*jaya*) over the enemies (*shatru*), which are *raga* (attachment to wordly things) and *dwesh* (hatred). The hill is considered the most sacred of the Jain places of pilgrimage (*tirthas*) in India, and is known by twenty-one other names, *e.g.*, Siddhāchal, Vimalgiri, Pundrikagiri, etc. Jain tradition holds this hill to be *shashwata* or eternal.

2. This is farman marked F reproduced in the *Memorial of Sheth Ananji Kalyanji* referred to above and discussed at p. 88 in Mr. Candy's Report.

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he was viceroy of the province of Gujarat, and it is dated 29th Muharram in the 30th year of the 'auspicious' coronation of his father (7 November, 1656). The *toghra* at the head of the document bears the name of the Emperor with the *nishan* of Shahzada Sultan Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, along with the Prince's seal. The Farman is addressed to the officers, present and future, of the Sarkar of Sorath (Kathiavad), and declares that Shantidas, the Jeweller, the Chief of the Grandees, had represented that in the village (*mauza*) of Palitana, situated in the said sarkar, there was a temple of the Hindus called Shatrunja,[1] frequented by pilgrims. Therefore, the exalted order had been issued that the above-mentioned village was granted as *Inam* to the said grandee. Knowing this, the officers should not interfere with him in any way. Though the grant is made expressly by name to Shantidas, it was apparently in trust, for it runs, 'so that the people of the adjoining places may come there for pilgrimage (*tirtha*) with peace of heart.' An interesting feature of this Farman is the fact that the reverse bears the words: 'Through the humblest of disciples Ali Naqi with his seal'. We know from history that this able and devoted officer was the diwan of the province of Gujarat during the period of Prince Murad Bakhsh's viceroyalty, and that he was shortly after this date destined to meet a violent death at Ahmadabad in 1657 at the hands of his master, when the hot-headed Prince killed him during a drunken frenzy.

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the Prince being described under the most loving epithets, such as 'the comfort of the eyes of the state,' 'the young plant of the garden of the Khilafat', 'the fruit of the tree of grandeur', etc. The same pargana is by this Farman granted from the season of the autumn harvest as Inam for two lakhs of *dams* to Shantidas Jawahari by way of *altamgha*. This Farman, in continuation, enjoins upon the exalted children of high descent, the nobles and ministers, the mutsaddis of the Diwan's office, the jagirdars and karoris, that the holy and exalted order should be upheld and that the said pargana should be left to Shantidas and his lineal descendants from generation to generation. He was to be exempted from all dues and taxes and imposts in connection with this grant and they were not to demand from him every year a new sanad. It is difficult for us to offer any explanation of the discrepancy between the *village* of Palitana granted in Prince Murad's sanad and the *pargana* of the same name clearly mentioned in this and later farmans except on the assumption that the *Jagir* was transferred by the Emperor.

The injunctions in this sanad.

The Imperial farman next in chronological order is of great interest, not only in connection with Shantidas, but also because it supplies an important confirmation of the fact recorded by the Persian historians that, soon after the arrival of the news of Shah Jahan's serious illness, Prince Murad Bakhsh, then viceroy of Gujarat, proclaimed himself Badshah Ghazi or Emperor at Ahmadabad on 5th December 1657. From this date we may consider the rule of Shah Jahan to have come to an end in Gujarat and the Khutba was read in the name of the new ruler and coins were struck in the provincial capital and other towns. This Farman[1] is a confirmation to Shantidas of his rights by Murad Bakhsh not now as Prince but as the *de facto* Sovereign. The *toghra* bears his new titles, *viz.*, 'Abul Muzaffar Muravvaj-ud-din Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Shah Ghazi, and near it is his round lineal seal with the same words and the Hijri year 1068 (A.D. 1657-8). The date of the Farman is the 29th of the month of the blessed Ramazan in the first year of the auspicious coronation, *i. e.*, June 20, 1658. It recites that the pargana of Palitana, which is also called Shatrunja, has according to former sanads been conferred on 'Satidas Jawahari,' and that this person has requested that a new exalted farman be granted to him. This request is granted, and the divans, vazirs, and the mutsaddis, etc., are instructed to regard the pargana mentioned above as the *inam* of Shantidas and not to hinder him in any way. An endorsement on the

3. Farman of Murad Bakhsh as Emperor, June 20, 1658.

He confirms the previous grants.

1. This is the farman marked H in the *Memorial of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji* and discussed at p. 89 in Mr. Candy's Report.

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reverse of this Farman is interesting for it states that the sanad was issued by Murad's son 'the humble disciple and sincere son Muhammad Izid Bakhsh Bahadur,' and bears a seal which reads 'Izid Bakhsh *ibn* Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Badshah Ghazi, first year of the coronation, 1068." The date on which the Farman was granted (20 June 1658) shows that it was issued only a few days before Prince Murad was imprisoned by Aurangzeb at Mathura during the march of the two brothers from Agra to Delhi.

Shantidas and Aurangzeb.

Prince Murad Bakhsh was not destined to enjoy for many months the exalted title of Badshah Ghazi or Emperor which he had assumed at Ahmadabad at the end of 1657. After the combined armies of this Prince and Aurangzeb had signally defeated Dara at Samugarh, Murad's power was on the wane and on the march from Agra to Delhi he was inveigled into a trap by his brother and made a prisoner. These events made it again necessary for Shantidas to have the Imperial grants regarding the hill of Palitana confirmed by Aurangzeb who was now definitely emerging as the successful claimant for the throne of his father in the War of the Succession. Two royal farmans granted by the new sovereign to Shantidas have been preserved and are available for our study. The dates of these farmans, as well as other collateral evidence available in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, make it clear that the great Jain magnate and financier had accompanied the camp of the confederate princes from the time of Murad's departure from Gujarat to join his brother in Central India to the date or dates when he obtained from the victorious Aurangzeb the confirmatory farman that he required and permission to return to his native city.

4. Aurangzeb's Farman granted to Shantidas, July 29, 1658.

With the rash Prince Murad now definitely out of the way, Aurangzeb arrived at Delhi in hot pursuit of Dara, and here in a plain near the city he went through his first quiet coronation ceremony on the first of Zil 'qadah H. 1068 (21 July, 1658). It is an interesting fact that the Farman now granted by Aurangzeb to Shantidas is dated the 9th of Zil'qadah, 1068 H. (July 29, 1658) *i. e.*, only eight days after his assumption of sovereignty. It is thus one of the earliest Farmans issued by this Emperor in a long reign of half a century. The legends on the seal and on the *toghra* of this document are significant for they are the same which Aurangzeb employed while he was Prince, the new seal and the new royal titles having not so soon come into use. The *toghra* reads: 'The illustrious royal order of Muhammad Aurangzeb Shah Bahadur Ghazi,' while the legend on the seal bears the same words with the addition of '*ibn* Saheb Kiran Sani.'

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The text of Aurangzeb's Farman[1] is in most respects similar to that of the preceding ones which it was intended to confirm. Shantidas Jawahari had represented to the holy, auspicious and exalted presence that, according to the Farman of his late Majesty, 'the shelter of the Khilafat, the shadow of God, possessing the dignity of Solomon,' which was dated the 19th of the holy month of Ramazan in the 31st year of the coronation, the pargana of Palitana, also called Shatrunja, situated in the Sarkar of Sorath, a dependency of the Subah of Ahmadabad, had been given to this servant as Inam by way of *altamgha* for two lakhs of dams. He now desired an illustrious royal mandate to be issued from the Court of the Saltanat. Aurangzeb, therefore, again grants to Shantidas the said pargana as Inam to remain with his lineal descendants from generation to generation, and the usual instructions are given to the officials and mutsaddis of the Subah. The reverse of the Farman bears an endorsement to the effect that it was issued through Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of the new Emperor, and the Prince's seal affixed thereto reads : 'Muhammad Sultan Bahadur *bin* Muhammad Aurangzeb Shah Bahadur Ghazi, 1068'.

The contents of this Farman.

Here then we shall stop in our survey and critical examination of the four Imperial Mughal farmans granted to Shantidas in connection with the possession of the village or the pargana of Palitana, 'also called Shatrunja'. One of these was granted by the Emperor Shah Jahan; two more by Murad Bakhsh, once as Viceroy of Gujarat and again as *de facto* Emperor; and the last one by Aurangzeb immediately after his informal coronation. Shantidas plays during this period the part of the trusted representative of the Jain community in the same way as the great *acharya* Hirvijaya Suri had done at an earlier date in the reign of Akbar. All these four farmans have been reproduced, with rather imperfect translations, in the book mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which has been published by the Jain community as represented by Anandji Kalyanji. We propose to return to Shantidas in the next chapter and to discuss some very important and interesting Farmans, hitherto unknown, which the author has been fortunate to bring to light.

Summary of the 'Palitana Farmans.'

1. This is farman marked I reproduced in the *Memorial of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji* and discussed at pp. 89-90 in Mr. Candy's Report.

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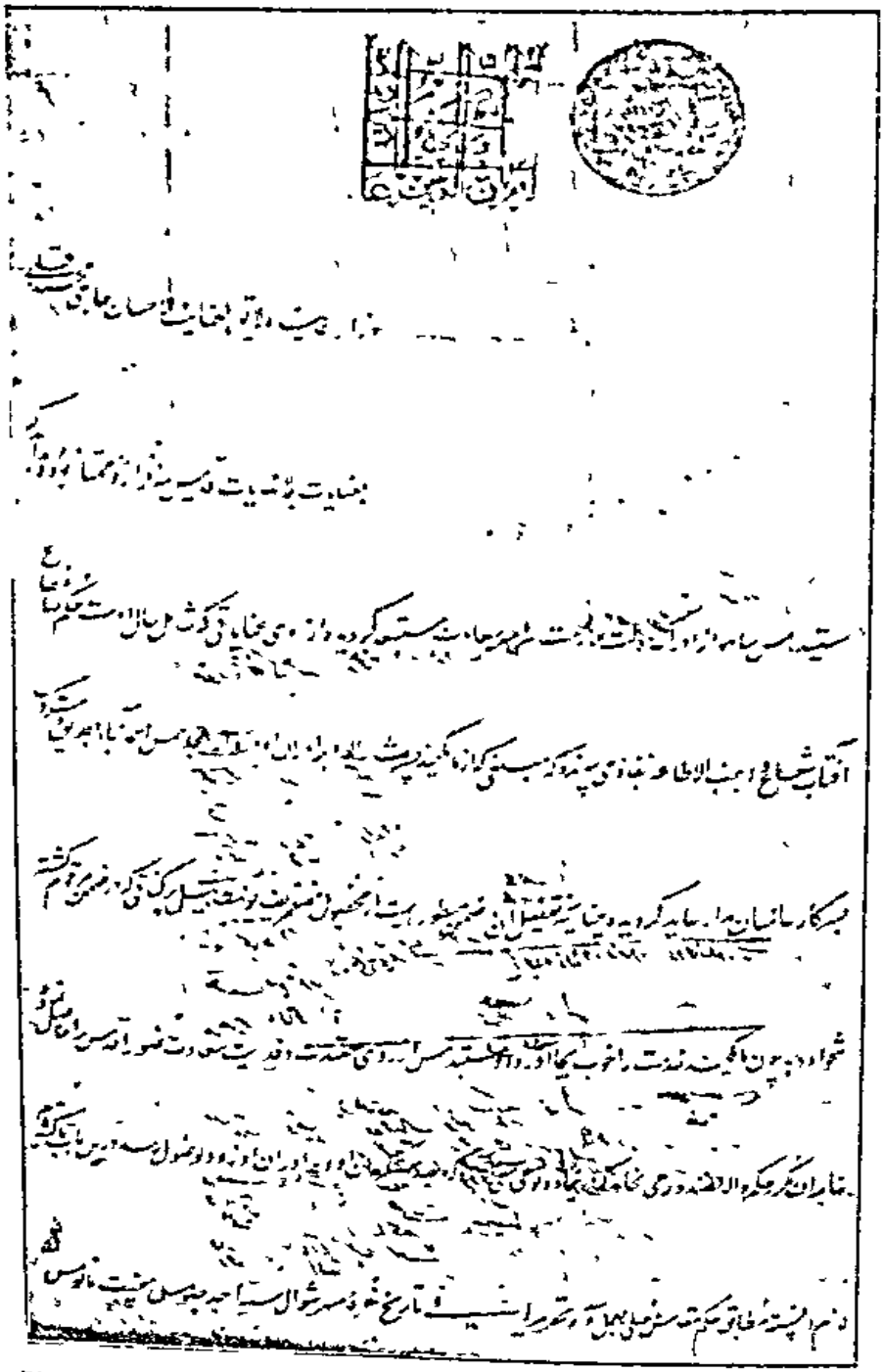

FARMAN OF MURAD BAKHSH AS BADSHAH GHAZI FOR THE REPAYMENT OF THE LOAN OF Rs 5,50,000 SECURED BY HIM AT AHMADABAD (Dated June 22, 1658)

(*Reduced facsimile*)

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CHAPTER VII

DISCOVERY OF NEW FARMANS ON SHANTIDAS: FINANCIAL LOANS MADE BY HIS FAMILY.

Discovery of new material on Shantidas.

The originals of the four Imperial Palitana farmans granted to Shantidas, which have been described in the preceding chapter, are preserved at Ahmadabad by the firm of Anandji Kalyanji. The author was given the facility of inspecting these some years ago by the courtesy of *Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the President of this body.* When a long cylindrical tin box was handed over to him from the safe as containing these well-known Sanads, it was found, when opened, to the author's great surprise and no less delight, that the contents were something very different. Three original and absolutely new farmans, not hitherto known to exist, and not utilised by the Jains in their long legal disputes with the Palitana state, were thus by a strange accident brought to light. They are of the greatest historical value and give us further important information about the financial transactions between the Mughal rulers and Shantidas and his sons. Besides, one of them records the grant to Shantidas by Aurangzeb of the sacred Jain hills and temples at Girnar, Abu and Taranga which have not been referred to in any of the hitherto known farmans, all of which relate to Palitana.There are also interesting references to valuable help supplied by Shantidas and his firm to the Mughal armies on their marches. The present chapter will, therefore, be devoted to a detailed study of this absolutely fresh and genuine historical material. But we shall also incorporate such information as is given on the subject by the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and other sources, including a new farman granted by Aurangzeb to Lakhshmichand, the son of Shantidas, which is now in the possession of Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai Nagarsheth, the lineal descendant of Shantidas Jawahari.

1. Murad's Farman about the loan secured at Ahmadabad.

The first of these newly discovered Farmans is granted by Murad Bakhsh as Emperor to Shantidas, and the date on which it was written, 22 June 1658, shows that the grant was made only four days before this ill-fated and rash Prince found himself suddenly a prisoner in the hands of his brother near Mathura during the march of their joint armies from Agra to Delhi in pursuit of Dara after the aged

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Emperor Shah Jahan had been placed in confinement. Shantidas was, in all probability, in the camp when he received this grant. The farman is an order by Murad to his imperial representative in Ahmadabad to repay, from the revenues of certain specified parganas, the loan of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees which had been secured by this Prince from Manekchand, the son of Shantidas, and others, on the eve of his departure from that city to join his brother in the War of the Succession. The following is a complete translation of Murad's farman:

Toghra: Farman of Abul Muzaffar Murawwaj-ud-din Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Badshah Ghazi.

Translation of this Farman, dated 22 June, 1658.

'Be it known to the shelter of the Vazirate, the deserver of favour and kindness, Haji Muhammad Quli, who has been honoured and elevated by boundless and exalted favours, that Satidas Sahu, has been honoured with an auspicious audience by His Majesty, and, by virtue of the favours with which he is associated, this world-obeyed illustrious order, which demands obedience, is issued to the effect that the amount which has been borrowed from Manekchand, the son of the above-mentioned person, and his brothers, at the place of our accession Ahmadabad, as a loan for the government—which is the foundation of the world—and the details of which are described below, should be paid off from the revenues, for the kharif season of this year, of the parganas mentioned herewith.

'Since Manekchand has rendered meritorious service, and Satidas, by virtue of his fidelity and loyalty, has received the blessing of an audience, therefore the exalted order is repeated that he (Haji Muhammad Quli) should exert himself in this matter in such a way that the loan made by him and his brothers is soon repaid. Considering this as most urgent, he should act in accordance with the holy and exalted order. Written on the 1st of the month of Shawwal in the first year of the blessed accession (June 22, 1658).'

The reverse of this Farman bears the interesting remark: 'Issued through the humble disciple and sincere son Muhammad Izid Bakhsh Bahadur.' It also contains in *shikastah* script the details about the various ports and parganas from the revenues of which for the kharif harvest the loan advanced by Manekchand and others was to be repaid.

That this farman of Murad Bakhsh, about the repayment of the loan secured at Ahmadabad, recently brought to light in original, is an

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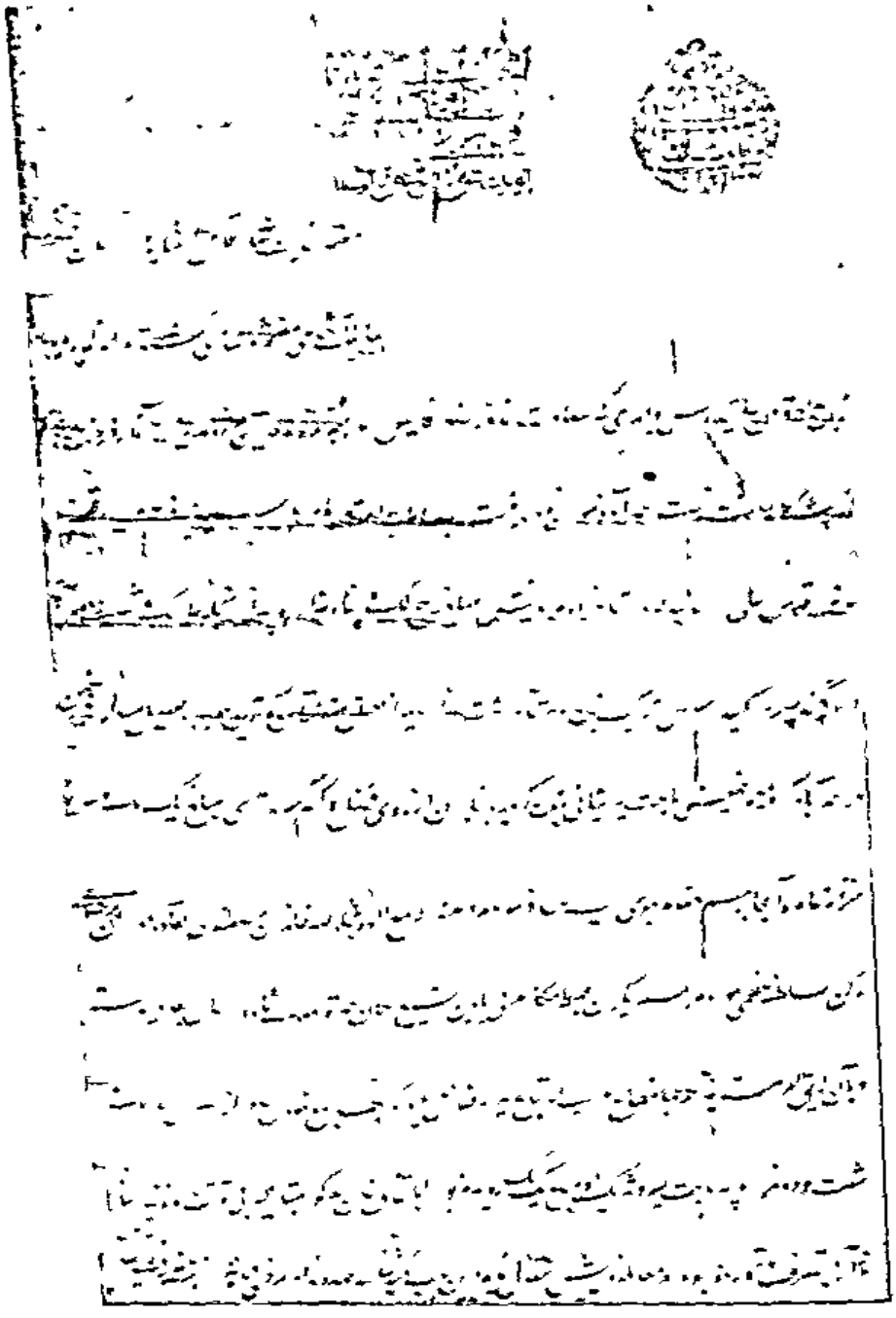

FARMAN OF AURANGZEB TO SHANTIDAS FOR THE RETURN OF THE LOAN OBTAINED BY MURAD BAKHSH AT AHMADABAD (Dated August 10, 1658)
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authentic historical document, finds unexpected confirmation from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. The author of this work, who had access to the original records in the office of the Diwan at Ahmadabad, reproduces the same farman in identical language, the only difference being that the officer to whom it is addressed is named as the *Khwajasara* Mutamad Khan. In introducing the document, the historian remarks that out of the total amount which Murad Bakhsh had raised from the inhabitants of Ahmadabad, 5,50,000 rupees were due to the sons and brothers of Satidas Jawahari who was a favourite of the court and known to the exalted Princes. He waited upon His Majesty 'the King of the World' (i. e. Prince Murad) after the defeat of Muhammad Dara Shukoh, and the Prince, only four days before his own imprisonment, sent this Farman with his own seal to Mutamad Khan for the repayment of the above-mentioned loan.[1]

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* reproduces this Farman.

The text of the farman as given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* gives the details about the repayment of the loan of 5,50,000 rupees to Manekchand etc., from the revenues of the Kharif harvest, as follows:

Details about the repayment

From Surat,	1,50,000	rupees.
From Khambayat,	1,00,000	,,
From pargana Petlad,	1,00,000	,,
From pargana Dholka,	75,000	,,
From pargana Bharuch,	50,000	,,
From pargana Viramgam,	45,000	,,
From Namaksar,	30,000	,, (Total 5,50,000 Rs.).

The Farman concludes thus: '*In accordance with the holy order* it was decided that since Manekchand has always been rendering service, his loan should be repaid first and after that the other merchants should be paid, viz., Manekchand, 4 lakhs and 22 thousand; Rabidas (Rakhidas), the partner of Satidas, 40 thousand; Sanmal and others, 88,000.'

Three or four days after he had granted the above farman, Prince Murad Bakhsh, as a result of his own folly, found himself a prisoner with golden shackles on his feet in his brother's tent near Mathura. Shantidas must have realised that the sanad just secured for the repayment of the large loan given to this Prince was now hardly worth the paper on which it was inscribed unless it was confirmed by the victorious Aurangzeb. His efforts in this direction, for, he was actually travelling with the camp, proved successful, as may be seen from another of the new farmans recently brought to light, dated

Murad's imprisonment: Shantidas turns to Aurangzeb.

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1. *Mirat i-Ahmadi*, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Pers. text, Part I, 238-9.

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10th August 1658, at which period Aurangzeb was probably encamped on the banks of the Satlaj on his march to Lahore in pursuit of Dara. This date is also important for another reason for on it Shantidas received another farman[1] from the same ruler granting him permission to leave the camp and to return to his native city of Ahmadabad. We shall give below a translation of the farman in connection with the repayment of the loan:

Toghra (in golden ink): The illustrious farman of Shah Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Ghazi.

2. Aurangzeb's farman about the loan, 10 Aug, 1658.

'Be it known to the thrifty and favour-desiring Rahmat Khan, who has been honoured by the royal kindness, that the chief among the nobles, Satidas Jawahari—who has received the honour of the audience of his illustrious majesty, and who has been permitted, on this occasion of auspicious beginning and happy ending, to go from the court to his native place Ahmadabad—has brought, through the medium of those who stand at the foot of the throne, to our exalted and elevated notice that Prince Murad Bakhsh has taken at Ahmadabad (as a loan) the sum of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, of which amount four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees were from Manekchand the son and from Rakhidas the partner of the servant (Satidas) and eighty thousand from some of the relations of this humble person, according to the details written below, and this has been the cause of anxiety to the servant.

'Therefore, on account of our kindness and generosity we grant the sum of one lakh of rupees from the royal treasury to the said person, and in this connection an illustrious farman has been also issued to Shah Nawaz Khan[2] (the Subahdar)—the epitome of the family of the Prophet, the chief of the household of Ali, the pillar of the great Empire, the receiver of boundless favours, the centre of unlimited goodness, the elevated, the Khan.

'And, therefore, this world-obeyed and obedience-demanding order is also issued to you who deserve favour that, after satisfying

1. This farman is given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, Ed. by Syed Nawab Ali, Part I, 240-41.

2. Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi was the first Subahdar of Gujarat appointed by Aurangzeb after his informal coronation at Delhi. Rahmat Khan, to whom the Farman is addressed, was *diwan* of the province at this time. Shah Nawaz was father-in law both to Prince Aurangzeb and to Prince Murad. His viceroyalty was a brief one, for he joined Dara when that Prince arrived at Ahmadabad during his flight through Cutch and the two together proceeded to Ajmir where this Prince was signally defeated at the battle of Deorai. Shah Nawaz Khan was killed by a cannon ball during this battle (March, 1659).

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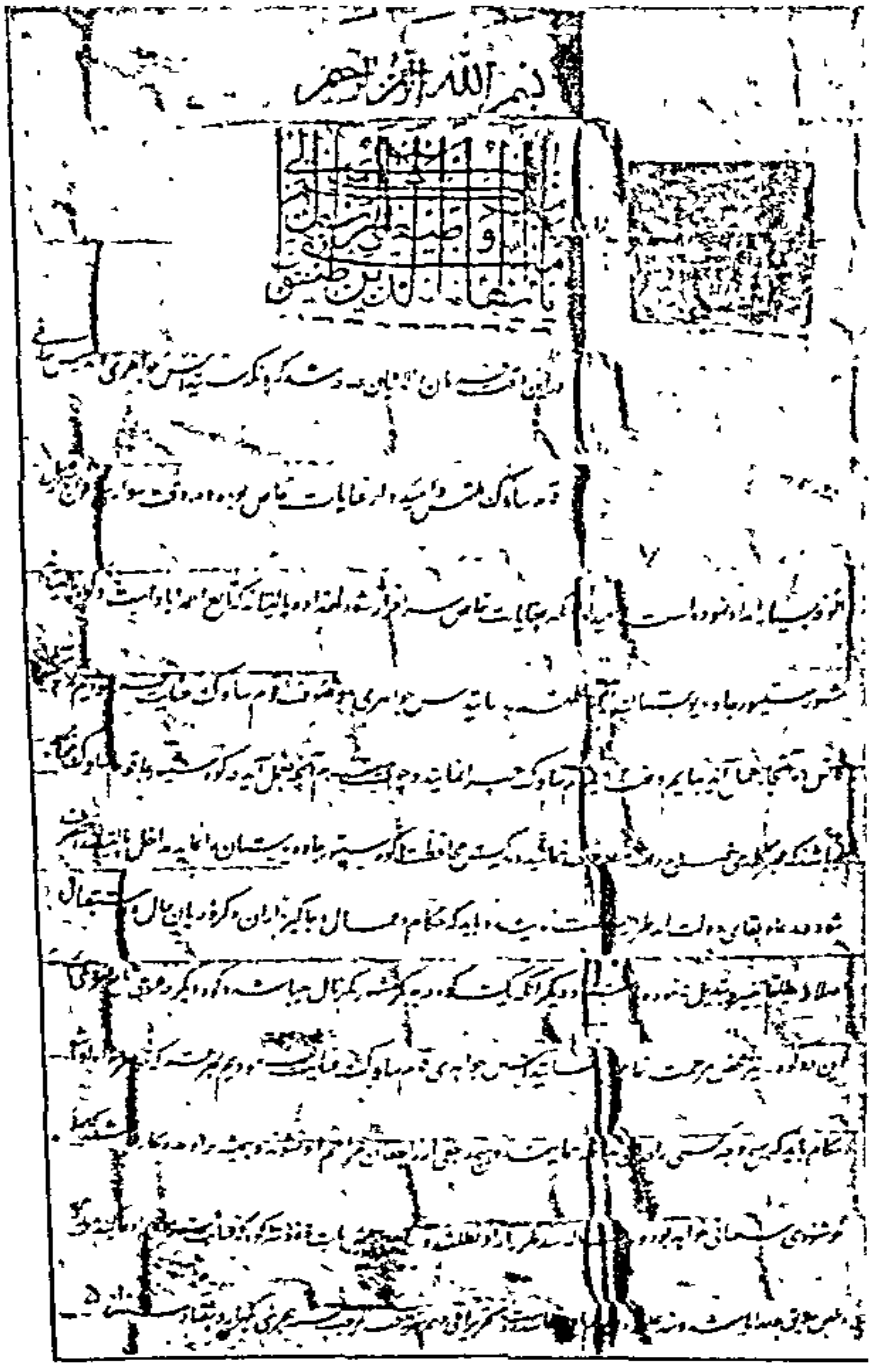

FARMAN OF AURANGZEB GRANTING THE SACRED HILLS OF PALITANA GIRNAR AND ABU TO SHANTIDAS JAWAHARI (Dated March 12, 1680.)
(*Reduced facsimile*)

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yourself about this loan of four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees made by his son and his partner, you should, with the concurrence of the above-mentioned Khan, give one lakh of rupees to the said person without any delay and hesitation so that he may, by making use of it, carry on his business and profit by it. This should be treated as urgent and considered peremptory. Written on the 21st of the month of Zil'qada, 1068 H. (August 10, 1658).

3. Farman given to Lakshmichand, son of Shantidas. 30 Jan., 1659.

The next farman in point of strict chronology is interesting as well as unique in the fact that it was granted by Aurangzeb not to Shantidas but to his son Lakshmichand, and its original is at present in the possession of Sheth Kasturbhai Manibhai Nagarsheth. The date of the farman is 30 January 1659, when the Emperor was probably resting at Agra after his decisive victory over his brother Shuja at Khajwah (near Korah) in the first week of the same month. The following is a translation of this farman granted by Aurangzeb to Lakshmichand within six months of his accession. The victor in the Fratricidal War was anxious to win over to his side this powerful Jain family of Gujarat, especially as Dara, though in headlong flight, had not yet been captured.

'In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful.' (Seal) Abu'l Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Badshah Alamgir Ghazi Bahadur.

'Be it known to the mutasaddis (administrators) both of the present and the future of the Subah of Ahmadabad, who are hopeful of the royal favour, that Lakshmichand, the son of Satidas Jawahari, has recently submitted, through those who stand at the foot of the throne of the Khilafat, to the noblest, holiest and most exalted (majesty) that he has sums due from his gumashtas (agents) and several inhabitants of the said Subah, and that these bring forward false excuses as regards the payment of the same. He hopes that from the court of sovereignty the exalted order may be issued that they (*i.e.*, the officers) should help him in the recovery of the amounts due to him.

'The world-ruling order, which is obeyed by the universe, is now issued that, provided the truth of his complaint is proved, they should help and assist him in the recovery of whatever is necessary as due to the applicant from those persons according to the documents and accounts, and they should so act that the money of the applicant should not be withheld by any one contrary to his accounts. They should consider this as urgent.

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'Written on the 16th of Jumad-ul-awwal of the first year of the august accession (30 January, 1659).'

The last of the Shantidas farmans.

We have now reached the last of the long series of the Shantidas Farmans. It was probably granted by Aurangzeb in the very last year of Shantidas's life, for it is dated March 12, 1660, and was evidently intended to mark the Emperor's appreciation of his services rendered during the War of the Succession. The contents are of unique interest inasmuch as not only is Shantidas confirmed in the possession of the village, hill and temple of Palitana, including the grass and the timber on the hill, but the great jeweller now receives at the end of his career a further grant of the hill and temples of Girnar under Junagadh and of Abu under Sirohi as a special favour. The language of the farman, however, makes it clear that they are all given to him in trust for the use and worship of the Shravak community. The document being one of those recently discovered, and not yet published, we give a full translation of the same. The language of the *Toghra* is to be noted, for, instead of the usual full name and titles of the sovereign, we have an exhortation to the faithful to obey Allah and his Prophet—a departure from normal terminology quite in keeping with the character of this puritanical sovereign.

4. Aurangzeb's grant of Abu and Girnar to Shantidas, 12 March, 1660.

'In the name of Allah, the compassionate and the merciful. (*Toghra* in vermilion). 'O ye Faithful, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority from amongst you. (Square lineal seal) 'Abul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah Ghazi.

'At this time the exalted Farman is issued that since Satidas Jawahari, son of Sahasbhai, of the Srawak community, has solicited and been hopeful for special favours, and has greatly helped the army during its march with provisions, and expects to be honoured with special rewards, therefore, the village (*deh*) of Palitana, which is under the jurisdiction of Ahmadabad, and the hill of Palitana famous as Satrunja, and the temple on it, all these we give to the said Satidas Jawahari of the Srawak community. Further that the grass which grows there may be used for grazing by the animals and cattle of the Srawak community; and the timber and fuel which is to be found on the hill of Satrunja should belong to the Srawak community so that they may utilise these for whatever purpose they like. Whoever guards the hill of Satrunja and the temple should be entitled to the income of Palitana and they should continue in prayer for the maintenance of the eternal government. It is necessary that the

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administrators and officers and the jagirdars and the karoris of the present and future should absolutely not allow any deviation or alteration in this.

'Besides this, there is a mountain in Junagadh famous as Girnal (Girnar) and there is another hill at Abuji under the jurisdiction of Sirohi. We give these two hills also to Satidas Jawahari of the Srawak community as a special favour so that he may be entirely satisfied. It is necessary for the officers that they should not allow any one to interfere with these, and no one among the Rajas should obstruct him, and they should always help him as such action will bring royal pleasure.

'And they should not demand a new sanad every year and if anybody makes any claim about that village and the three hills which we have given to him he will be liable to the censure and curses of the people as well as of God. Another separate sanad has also been given to him.

'Written on the tenth of Rajab in the Hijri year 1070 (March 12, 1660).'

This then is the last of the farmans hitherto known as secured by Shantidas from the Mughal Emperors. The exact date of his death is a matter of some difficulty. Here the Jain literary works, which are so valuable in many respects, come to our help, and we learn from the poem known as the *Rajsagarsuri-Nirvānras* composed in Samvat 1722 (A.D. 1666) that the great Shantidas died in Samvat 1715[1] which ended on October 5, 1659 A.D. The Farman just described, however, is dated March 12, 1660. This discrepancy cannot be satisfactorily explained until some further information comes to light. It is, however, possible that the news of the great jeweller's death did not reach the Mughal court until after the date of the issue of this farman.

Death of Shantidas, 1659.

As the date of Shantidas's birth is unknown, we can only form a rough idea of his age at the time of his death, but if we suppose that he was at least twenty years of age at the time when he installed the image of Mahasnath on the sacred hill of Shatrunjaya in 1612-13, he must have been about seventy years old at the time of his death. Judging by the high esteem in which he was held at the courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and the facility with which he could secure sanads from one Imperial ruler after another, we must conclude that

The foremost personality in Gujarat in his day.

1. Cf. સંવત સતરસિ વરસ પનરોતરિ, અકારથ માહ્ આધાર
સાહ શાંતિદાસ રે મુરલેહિ ગયો, નિહ્ અહો અહું નિરધાર.
—Jain Aitihasic Gurjar Kavya-sanchaya. Ed. by Jinvijayaji, text, p. 58.

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he was in many respects the foremost personality in Gujarat during the first half of the 17th century outside the ranks of the Mughal hierarchy. Already in 1640, the *Chintamani-prashasti* describes him as 'well-known at the court, with the royal favour indicated by the gift of many swift horses and fiery elephants, and an ornament to the city of Ahmadabad.'[1]

1. The celebrated French jeweller and traveller M. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who was in Ahmadabad ten or twelve times during his many voyages to the East, relates in some detail a most absurd story about 'the wife of a rich Banian merchant named Shantidas,' who was for long without a child, and who was *enceinte* as the result of eating some fish on the advice of an attendant. Some time after, the husband died, and she gave birth to a posthumous child whose right to inherit the father's effects was denied by the relatives as she had been without any issue for over 15 years. The matter was taken to the Governor and, on the advice of the doctors, the legitimacy of the child was established by the fact that, as expected by these experts, it smelled of fish when taken to the bath some days after the confinement! (Tavernier: *Travels in India*. Ed. by Ball, I, 75-6).

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PART III—M. JEAN DE THEVENOT'S TRAVE GUJARAT IN 1666

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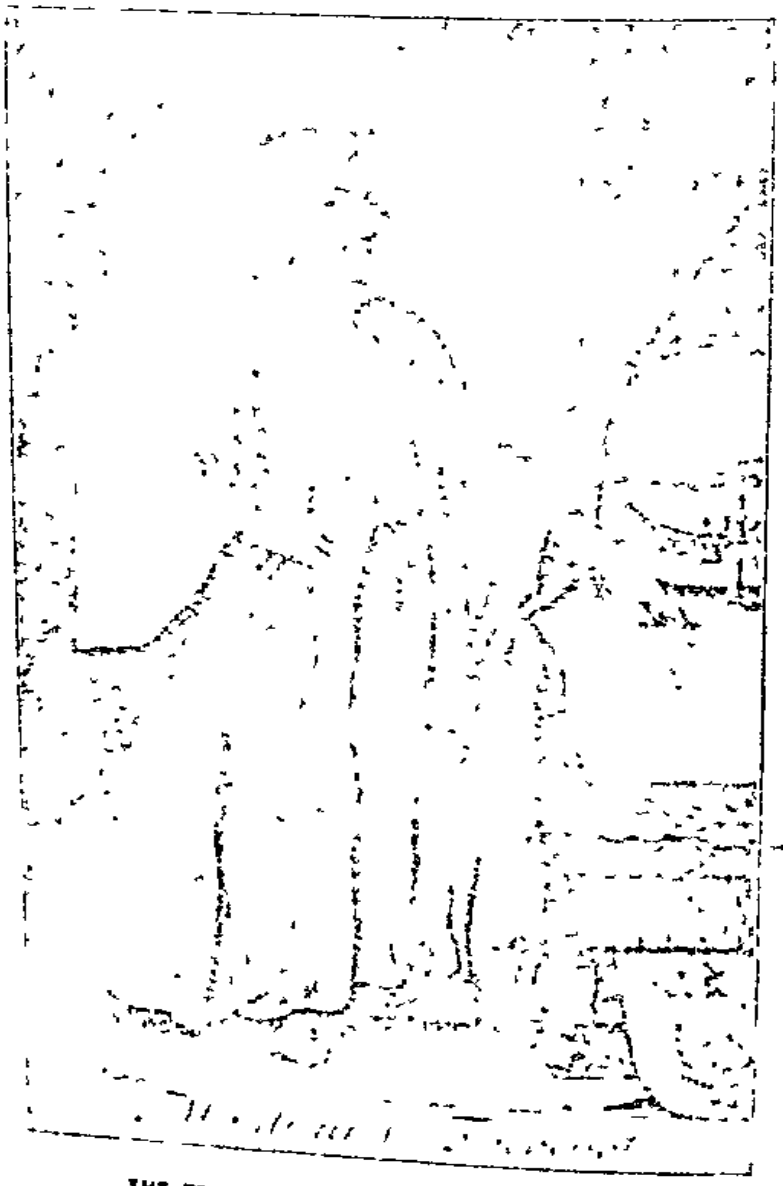

THE FRENCH TRAVELLER M. DE THEVENOT
(*In Oriental Costume*)
From *The Travels of M de Thevenot* rendered into English by A. Lovell, London, 1687.

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CHAPTER VIII

M. JEAN DE THEVENOT'S DETAILED ACCOUNT OF SURAT IN 1666.

The distinguished French traveller in the East, M. Jean de Thevenot, who visited India in the year 1666, deserves a high place among the European travellers of the seventeenth century. He was a scholar of great ability and an accomplished linguist, being proficient in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, acquisitions which enabled him to write as he did about those eastern lands through which he passed. Unlike Tavernier, Manucci and others whose primary purpose in the East was trade or business, Thevenot, we are told, devoted himself entirely to careful observation and enquiry, often questioning a number of people to ascertain the correct facts. This zeal for ascertaining the truth was so intense that he barely allowed himself time to eat, but it makes his work particularly valuable to the student of history. Even among scholars, however, Thevenot's *Travels* are little known owing to the fact that the only complete English translation of his work, made by A. Lovell and published in London in 1687, i.e., nearly 250 years ago, is now very rare and but little known.[1]

The value of Thevenot's *Travels.*

M. de Thevenot, a person of gentle birth, was born at Paris on 7th June 1633, and he completed his studies at the age of 18 at the college of Navarre in the University of Paris. The next year, in 1652, he began a long journey, passing through England and Holland to Germany and then to Italy. From Rome he proceeded to Constantinople and the Levant, and after staying a year in Egypt, joined the Lent pilgrim caravan to Jerusalem and visited the chief places of pilgrimage in Palestine. In 1659 he returned to his native land after some adventures on the seas with the Spanish corsairs. This completed his first journey extending over a period of seven years.

Early career of M. de Thevenot.

After spending four years at home in studies useful to a traveller, Thevenot left France in November 1663 on his second voyage to the East, and devoted his attention this time to Mesopotamia, Persia and India. Landing at Sidon, he proceeded by land to Damascus and Aleppo and then through Iraq to Mosul and Baghdad. Entering

His second journey through Iraq and Persia to India, 1663-66.

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1. M. de Thevenot's *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687. *Preface.*

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Persia in 1664 he journeyed by Kermanshah and Hamadan to Isfahan where he stayed for five months. It was in Persia that he met the celebrated Italian tra eller and diamond merchant, M. de Tavernier, and the two joining company proceeded by way of Shiraz to Bandar Abbas. But while Tavernier was able to secure at this port a passage to India, Thevenot was not so fortunate because of the opposition of the Dutch. He, therefore, retraced his steps to Shiraz, and, having visited the ruins of the ancient Persian capital of Persepolis, he made his way to Basra and sailed for India in the ship *Hopewell* on 6th November 1665, arriving at the port of Surat about two months later, on January 10, 1666. His travels in India occupied the next thirteen months, the early part of which period was spent in a tour through the province of Gujarat which we propose to review in this and the following chapters.

The great fort of Diu described.

On New Year's Day, 1666, the *Hopewell* sighted the south coast of Kathiawar and the island of Div, and Thevenot's reference to the great Portuguese fort there shows the exactness of his information even though he did not land at this place. The fortress, he says, was considered impregnable, being surrounded by two ditches, both being filled with sea-water, and the outer one being large enough to admit of ships. The fort was further defendend by solid stone bastions built very high upon the natural rocks and these were mounted with large cannon that played on all sides. It would be no easy task to capture such a fort unless the garrison could be starved into surrender by an enemy through lack of provisions. The water in the castle was cistern-water and every house had its cistern. Thevenot adds that, owing to its fine harbour, all the trade of the Indies was formerly centred here and at Chaul, but that the Dutch so ordered matters that it was wholly removed to Surat in his time.[1]

Thevenot arrives at Surat, 10 Jan. 1666.

On January 10, 1666, the *Hopewell* came to anchor at Surat 'bar' at the mouth of the Tapti, the bar being so called 'because of the many sandbanks that hinder great ships from entering the river before they be unloaded'. The following day, Thevenot and his fellow passengers got into smaller craft and slowly sailed up the river with the tide, reaching the custom-house at nightfall after passing the Castle. The night had to be spent on the river for no one could enter the town until the customs ipspection had been carried out. The next morning they were taken to the shore on the backs of porters who came up to them in waist-deep water in order to carry them to the land,

1. Thevenot's *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, Part II, 196.

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to be searched there according to the usual custom. 'Visited we were', says our traveller, 'but in so severe and vexatious a manner that though I did expect it, and had prepared myself for it beforehand, yet I had hardly patience enough to suffer the searchers to do whatsoever they had a mind to, though I had nothing about me but my clothes.'[1]

The custom-house procedure.

The account of the custom-house procedure as given by Thevenot is of special value, for no such graphic information is supplied to us by any other traveller, not even in the *Journal* of Sir Thomas Roe, who devoted so many pages of his diary to his squabbles with the customs officials. We are told that as soon as a ship arrived at the bar its Master was expected to go up to the town in a boat to announce the fact to the customs people. An inspector then proceeded to the ship to prevent any smuggling or contact with other vessels lying in the harbour and he received from each passenger a fee that was equivalent to 18*d*. The passengers with their goods were next brought up to Surat in small barks, half a rupee being charged per head. The custom-house being open for business only between ten in the morning and noon, these boats had generally to pass a night in the stream opposite the wharf under proper guard. The next day the boats advanced as far as the depth of the water would permit and the occupants and goods were brought ashore by the porters on their backs.

Every person searched.

On landing, the passengers were surrounded by a number of peons with large canes in their hands, whose duty it was to see that they did not communicate with any person, and who often drew up to make a lane for them to pass on to the court of the custom-house. Any attempt at smuggling would be attended by caning and a heavy fine.[2] The Chief of the custom-house sat in a Hall on a *divan* with his clerks below him. Each passenger was admitted singly into this room and his name entered in a register. His person was then subjected to a thorough search:

> 'He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stockings, and all the rest of his clothes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over, and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness; if they perceive anything hard in it they rip it up, and all that can be done is to suffer patiently. The search is long and takes up about a quarter of an hour for every person severally.'

1. Thevenot's *Travels into the Indies*, being Part III of his *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 2.

2. Thevenot says that those who had a mind to defraud the customs would manage their affairs more adroitly and not wait till they came to Surat. 'I have known', he says, 'some bring in a great many precious stones and other rich jewels which the officers of the custom house never saw nor got one farthing by, because the Dutch Commander was their friend and had assisted them.'

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This completed the personal search, and, if any gold or silver was found, two and a half per cent. of its value was taken as duty and the rest handed back and the individual permitted to go out through a wicket at the gate. Next day, all had to come back for their goods or baggage left behind. Every one had to wait outside the gate till he was called in, and Thevenot had the good fortune to be summoned with the first batch. His 'cloakbags' were brought into the middle of the Hall and emptied, and all the contents examined though he had no merchandise with him. 'My quilt was ript up', he says, 'they undid the pommel of one of my pistols, with pegs of iron felt in the holsters.' The clerks being satisfied, he was allowed to go after paying duty on his money. He informs us that others were generally not so fortunate and were not disposed of so quickly and some had to wait for a month before they could get out their baggage, and especially so if they had merchandise, on which they paid 'four in the hundred if they be Christians, and five in the hundred if they be Banian (Banyas).'

Minute inspection of baggage and goods.

Thevenot arrived at Surat just two years after Shivaji's famous sack of the city and his account of the same will be given in the author's *History of Gujarat*. We learn from him that the city had only earthen walls and even these were nearly all in ruins. But he saw the new walls, ordered by the Emperor Aurangzeb, just begun, and he tells us that they were made of brick about ten feet thick and as many high in order to protect the place against a repetition of the invasion. In his opinion, however, the engineer responsible for the plans made a serious mistake in their alignment for 'he built them so close to the Castle that people in the city would be masked from the fire of the artillery in the fortress, while those defending the Castle could easily be harassed by musketry.' The new walls were also to enclose a smaller area that had been enclosed by the old mud circumvallation, so that a large number of 'cane-built' houses, which formerly were within the city limits, were now excluded, a change for which several interested persons claimed fair compensation.[1]

New city-walls (*Sheherpanah*) begun, 1666.

The walls referred to by Thevenot, which were probably begun soon after Shivaji's incursion in 1664, and of which, therefore, our traveller saw only the early stages in 1666, are those which were long known as *Sheherpanah* ('the Protection of the City'). They appear to have taken over a decade in construction for when

Remarks on the 'inner' and 'outer' walls of Surat.

1. Jean de Thevenot's account of Surat, trans. by H. G. Rawlinson. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, 1927, p. 199.)

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Dr. John Fryer, the famous surgeon at the English Factory, was at Surat in 1674 he found them still being built.[1] Though their lines may still be traced they have been now in ruins for nearly a century. These walls are also generally known as the 'inner walls' to distinguish them from the present 'outer walls' or the *Alampanah* (the 'Shelter, of the World') which were built during the reign of the Emperor Farruksiyar at the time when Haidar Quli Khan was governor of the City.[2] The reason for this new fortification may be found in the increasing number of Maratha raids against Surat which required both the city and the suburbs to be more adequately protected against the enemy. The line of the inner walls described by Thevenot still divides Surat city from the suburbs.

The Frenchman's account of Surat Castle[3] is also quite interesting. He says it was situated on the river-bank to prevent the entry of any one who might wish to attack the city by riding up the Tapti. Its moats were filled with sea water on three sides and on the fourth side, i. e., to the west, it was protected by the Tapti. Several cannon were to be seen at the embrasures. The royal revenues of this rich seaport and fertile district were deposited in the Castle and only forwarded to the Court when a special order was received to that effect. The entrance on the land side was by a fine gate which opened on the principal bazaar or maidan of the city. The office of the Head of the Customs adjoined the Castle and the fortress had a special governor of its own.[4]

Surat Castle described.

Surat is described as a medium-sized city with a large but fluctuating population. During the fair weather from November to April, when ships from various ports came there for traffic, it was so full of people that it was difficult to find comfortable quarters, and

1. J. Fryer: *East India and Persia*, (Hakluyt Society), Vol. I, 248. The same writer informs us that the walls were completed in 1679 (*Ibid.*, III, 161-2).

2. Towards the close of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, Surat was harassed by the repeated excursions of the Marathas. To protect themselves from this danger, the people of Surat built sconces or bulwarks about half a mile outside the city walls, and set cannon on them (Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, I, 148). For about ten years no attempt appears to have been made to convert these sconces into permanent defence. At last Haidar Quli Khan, governor of Surat from 1717-19, set to work to raise an outer line of wall with the help of the stones from the Gopi Talav. Tahawar Khan, the next governor, completed the line of fortifications thus begun, including the Warlav gate, calling it *Alampanah*, or 'the Shelter of the World'. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, pp. 303, 314.)

3. This is the famous castle on the Tapti built in 1540, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat, by Khwaja Safar Salmani, who had the title of Khudawand Khan and who was governor of Surat from 1538 to 1546. (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 147.)

4. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 200.

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the three suburbs of the time were crowded. These foreign merchants comprised Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Armenians, besides the various Christian nationalities such as the English, the Dutch, etc. Among the native population, after mentioning the 'Moors' or Muslims and the 'Gentiles' or Hindus, Thevenot specially mentions a third class which, he says, consists of the Parsis, 'who are also known as Gaures or Ateshperest, i. e., fire-worshippers.' He adds that they professed the religion of the ancient Persians and took refuge in India when the Khalif Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia.[1] Our traveller goes on to state that there were some extremely rich people at Surat and that 'a Banya named Virji Vora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight millions (francs) at least.' The English and Dutch factories or lodges were very fine and there were quite one hundred Catholic houses at Surat.[2]

The population of the City—the Parsis.

1. We give below the principal references to the Parsis of Gujarat in the works of the early European writers and travellers, the majority of which refer to the seventeenth century:

(i) Jordanus, Friar (c. 1328). *Mirabilia Descripta*, trans. by Sir H. Yule, Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. 21.

(ii) Garcia de Orta (1565). *Colloquies dos Simples*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 213.

(iii) Terry, Edward (1615). *A Voyage to East-India*, London, 1777, pp. 336-344

(iv) Lord, Henry (1624). *A Discovery of Two Foreign Sects in the East Indies*, 1630, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1732, Vol. VI, pp. 328 ff.

(v) Herbert, Thomas (1627). *A Relation of Some Years Travaile begun Anno 1626* by T. H. Esquire, London, 1634, pp. 39-40.

(vi) Herbert, Thomas. *Some Years' Travels into Africa and Asia the Great* etc., fourth impression, London, 1677, pp. 53-58.

(vii) Mandelslo, J. Albert de (1638). *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, trans. by John Davies, London, 1662, pp. 74-77. (The account is an interpolation by Mandelslo's French translator De Wicquefort.)

(viii) Manucci, Niccolao, (1656). *Storia do Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine (Indian Texts Series), 1907, Vol. I, pp. 63-64.

(ix) Thevenot, Jean de (1666). *Travels into the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 15.

(x) Ogilby, John (1673). *Asia* (being his *Atlas*, Vol. V), London, 1673, pp. 218-222.

(xi) Fryer, Dr. John (1675). *A New Account of East India and Persia, 1672-81*, Ed. by W. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I (1909), pp. 176, 293-95.

(xii) Ovington, John (1690). *A Voyage to Surat*, Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, 1929, pp. 216-22.

(xiii) Hamilton, Alexander (c1690). *A New Account of the East Indies, 1688-1723*, Edinburgh, 1727, Vol. I, pp. 158-160

(xiv) Valentyn François. *Oud-en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Amsterdam, 1726. (IV, 153).

2. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., p. 200

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Virji Vora, the Banya who befriended our traveller, was one of the wealthiest merchants at Surat at that period. The English Factory Records describe him and Haji Zahid Beg as 'those great and eminent merchants' who were plundered by Shivaji of the greater part of their riches during the first sack of Surat. We also learn that when Shivaji was at the gates of the city in January, 1664, he sent two men with a letter requiring the Governor, as also Haji Zahid Beg, Virji Vora and Haji Kasim, 'the three eminent merchants and moneyed men in the town to come to him in person immediately and conclude with him.'[1] Volquard Iversen, who was on the staff of the Dutch factory at Surat at the time of Shivaji's invasion, in an extract from the official account of this sack, says: 'The most magnificent house of a very rich Banyan merchant, Virji Vora by name, was also reduced to ashes and with it six barrels of gold, money, pearls, gems and other precious wares. Shivaji had demanded the surrender of this merchant and another from the Governor, two days before, and was willing to let these suffice as ransom for the whole town.'[2] It may be mentioned that Virji Vora at Surat was contemporary with the great Jain banker and jeweller Shantidas at Ahmadabad.

Virji Vora and Shivaji's sack of Surat.

The account given by Thevenot of the Kotwal at Surat, an officer who combined in himself the functions of Chief of the Police and Police Magistrate, is particularly full. He went about the city on horse-back attended by his staff on foot, some of them carrying sticks and large whips while others were armed with swords, lances, shields and iron maces. The Kotwal's methods of dispensing justice were summary, the delinquents being punished in his presence with the lash of the whip or blows from a stick and this penalty was inflicted in the public street at the very spot where the offence was committed. Thrice during the night, viz., at nine o'clock, at midnight and at three in the morning, this custodian of the peace took his rounds of the city. The process began at 9 p.m. when two of his men beat little drums while another sounded a long copper trumpet. The guards then shouted *khabardār* ('be on your guard') at the top of their voices, and the sentinels who were in the neighbouring street responded with a similar cry to show that they were not asleep. This procedure was continued from street to street until the round was finished. Any one found in the streets at night was put into gaol and seldom let out without being beaten or whipped.[3]

The duties of the city Kotwal at Surat.

1. *English Factories in India*, Ed. W. Foster, 1661-64, pp. 299, 310.
2. *English Records on Shivaji*, (1659-1682), Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona, 1931, Part II, p. 345.
3. Indian Antiquary, op. cit., 201 2.

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The Kotwal being specially responsible for detecting thefts in the city, the methods sometimes followed by him to evade his responsibility for discovering the criminal were characteristic of the Mughal period. During Thevenot's brief stay at Surat, an Armenian merchant named Cogea Minias (Khwaja Minas[1]) was robbed of 2,400 sequins. Two of his slaves had disappeared at the time of the robbery but no trace of them could be found. The Governor of the city now informed the Kotwal that the money had somehow to be paid to the Armenian merchant, for, if the Emperor were informed of the matter, worse things might befall them than having to make good the stolen amount. The Kotwal, thereupon, asked permission of the Governor to imprison the wealthy Armenian and to question him and his servants, so as to discover by the use of the torture whether this money had been really and truly stolen from him. The request was granted but no sooner had the Armenian merchant news of this than he withdrew his complaint, preferring to lose all than to endure the torments which were being prepared for him. 'This', says Thevenot, 'is the usual procedure of the Kotwal.'[2]

Use of torture to prevent complaints.

In order to appreciate the incident that is next described by Thevenot we may mention that in 1664, in the early years of the personal rule of Louis XIV and under the fostering care of his great minister Colbert, the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was formed in France in order to secure for that country a share of the vast profits which the English and the Dutch were drawing from the East India trade. The new company received from the crown the perpetual grant of Madagascar (then officially named Ile Dauphine) and other extensive privileges, with rights of *seigneurie* of all lands and places which it might conquer. In order to prepare the way for the trading ships and merchants whom the Company was to send, Colbert despatched overland, at the end of 1664, five nobles and agents as representatives of the French crown to the Shah of Persia and to the Great Mughal with the purpose of securing the favour of these princes and for holding preliminary discussions with them for the conclusion of real treaties of commerce. Two of these agents, viz. De La Boullaye and Béber, appear to have come to Surat when Thevenot was in that place in 1666. It was, however, only in the beginning of 1668, nearly four years after the formation of the French East India Company, that any of the ships arrived by the sea-route to Suvali bar on the coast of Gujarat under

Formation of the French E. I. Company by Colbert 1664.

1. The Surat factors often refer to him as 'Cojah Minas' and describe him as an able and well respected Armenian merchant (*Eng. Factories in India*, Ed. by Foster, 1661-64, p. 207).
2. Indian Antiquary, op. cit., 202.

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Francis Cáron (a Dutchman who had been appointed Director-General of the Company's factories in the East) as the ships that went by the first two fleets could proceed no farther than Madagascar.[1]

La Boullaye le Gouz and Bêber sent as agents.

M. La Boullaye le Gouz, mentioned above, was an Angevin noble who had travelled extensively in the East in the middle of the 17th century and whose account of his travels published in 1653 was very popular.[2] It was entitled: "Voyages and Observations in which are described the religions, governments, etc., of Persia, Arabia, etc." By virtue of his intimate experience of Oriental countries, and especially of India, he appears to have been selected by Colbert in 1664 to go to the court of the Mughal Emperor along with Béber. After accompanying La Boullaye Le Gouz to Agra in Aug.–Sept. 1666, Béber returned to Surat. Here he proceeded to act on a farman of Aurangzeb granting the French a site for a factory at Suvali and permission to trade at Surat on the same terms as given to the Dutch and the English. Being a man of zeal and ability Béber had so well prepared for the arrival of the Company's ships that, when they came under Cáron in 1668, the French factors were able to establish themselves at once.[3]

Thevenot's reference to the French E. I. Company.

Thevenot informs us that, when he was in the Indies, the Governor of Surat was holding an enquiry into the character of the French nation whose agents had arrived at India to seek for permission to trade for the newly formed company. But the Governor as well as the merchants were most reluctant to grant this company permission to enter under the belief that the French were pirates. This distrust arose from an episode which had taken place at Mokha some years before. One Lambert Hugo,[4] a Dutchman, who sailed

1. *Cambridge History of India*, V, 63-66.

2. Tavernier says that he has spoken of M. de La Boullaye le Gouz in his *account of Persia, and adds that this French traveller came from Persia to Surat* with the help of the English and the Dutch who gave him money at Isfahan, for his purse had been empty a long time. At Surat, the Capuchin Father Zenon took him as his companion on a visit to Goa. From Goa the two went to Rajapur, where they were imprisoned, but subsequently they returned to Suvali. This visit of La Boullaye to Surat must have taken place before 1650. (*Tavernier's Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, I, 224 and *n*)

3. *Cambridge History of India*, V, 62, 66, 617.

4. Full details about Signor Hubert (*not* Lambert) Hugo, the Dutch rover, are given by Sir W. Foster based on the *Bo'mbay Diary-Register*. "He had been in the Dutch Company's service as Chief of their Factory at Ahmadabad, and had gone home in November 1654. He sailed from Amsterdam about August 1661, in a new vessel named the *Black Eagle*, of 36 guns and 100 men, bound ostensibly for Guinea and the West Indies. A call was made at Havre, where a number of Frenchmen joined the crew, bringing a commission from the Duc de Vendôme. The ship went first to St. Augustine's Bay, in Madagascar, and then made for

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under the French flag and had several Frenchmen on board, had (in 1662) by an act of piracy seized, under circumstances of great torture to its captain, a ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur and carrying a great deal of money, jewels and other rich presents intended as offerings and for distribution at Mecca, Medina and other holy cities. The Queen herself, having taken passage in a Dutch ship, had escaped Hugo's attentions. This episode had created a great stir all over the coast and had given the French nation a bad reputation in the eyes of Indians.[1]

Father Ambrose intercedes for the French.

The situation was awkward for the French Company, but Thevenot informs us that it was saved by the intercession of the famous French missionary Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins,[2] who went in person to the Governor of Surat to warn him not to trust the reports of the enemies of the French Company who were in league to ruin it if they could. The Governor, who held the Father in the highest respect, adjured him to tell him the truth about this matter as to whether the French who wanted to land were pirates or not. After considerable difficulty the Capuchin monk succeeded in persuading the Governor that Hugo was not French and that the latter were not coming with the desire for plunder. The Father was asked to put down in writing what he had said and this was forwarded to the Great Mughal who being satisfied gave permission to the French to come to Surat. The Governor now made much of Messrs. de la Boullaye and Béber, the delegates of the French Company, and told them that, after the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would render them any services that he could. The English President

the Persian Gulf, but, the winds being contrary, was forced to put into the Red Sea (April, 1662) where several Indian and other vessels were captured. The Governor of Mokha equipped a squadron and sent it against the freebooter, but without success; and in June, 1662, Hugo sailed away with a booty estimated at from four to five tons of gold." (*English Factories in India*, Ed. by W. Foster, 1661-64, p. 180 *n*).

1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 203.

2. The Capuchins form an order of friars in the Roman Catholic Church, being the chief and only permanent off-shoot from the Franciscans. The pointed or pyramidal hood (*capuche*), assumed by its founder in 1520, gave the order its popular name. Its members have to lead a life of extreme austerity, poverty and simplicity—in all matters as near an approach to the ideal of St. Francis as possible. Their great external work was preaching and spiritual ministrations among the poor. The order was one of the chief factors in the success of the Counter-Reformation of the 17th century. From an early date it undertook missions to America, Asia and Africa. Though 'the poorest of all orders', it has attracted into its ranks an extraordinary number of the highest nobility in all countries of Europe.

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at Surat also did them all the honour that was in his power and sent them his carriage and his men to welcome them.[1]

History of the Capuchin Mission at Surat.

The history of the Capuchin Mission in India dates back to the year 1640 when Father Zénon of Beaugé established himself at Surat with two others of his order. He was soon after joined by Father Ephrem of Nevers who came from Isfahan and who two years later founded the mission at Madras. The first Mission House at Surat was an ordinary native hut, but about 1654, largely through the help given by the jeweller Tavernier, they were able to erect a decent dwelling place and a substantial church. Father Zénon continued to work in Surat till the end of 1651 when he was succeeded in his office by the famous Father Ambrose of Preuilly whose missionary labours in this city extended over a quarter of a century till his death at Surat at his cherished mission on 4th December 1675. This saintly divine was endowed with rare qualities which endeared him to his order and obtained for him the esteem and veneration of all classes in the city. It may be noted that the Capuchin Mission in India was under the jurisdiction of the *custos* or superior of Aleppo and had as Prefect the Provincial of the Capuchins of Touraine.[2]

The Capuchin Father's great reputation at Surat.

Thevenot's *Travels* give us perhaps the best account yet available of the intrepid Capuchin Father Ambrose[3] and the great influence which he wielded at Surat both with the officials and the people by virtue of his piety, intrepidity, charity and commanding personality. He generally settled all disputes among the Christians in the city, especially among the Catholics, and so well was his authority backed up by the local officials that he could compel any party that did not wish to accommodate itself to bow to his decision. If he found the behaviour of any Christian at Surat scandalous he did not hesitate to imprison the person, and neither the Governor nor the Kotwal, if petitioned for release, would interfere, saying that it was a matter over which they had no control. At the most they would offer their intercession to the Capuchin. Father Ambrose had permission to banish from the city persons of too

1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 204.

2. Article by Fr. Felix O. M.C. entitled 'Capuchin Missions in India' published in the *Franciscan Annals of India* (Agra), January, 1930, pp. 31-33.

3. The famous Venetian traveller and physician Niccolao Manucci, who spent almost a lifetime in India in the 17th century, and who first landed at Surat from Persia in January, 1656, refers in his account of Surat to the Capuchin Father as follows: 'On my first visit to the port I found there no more than two factories, one English and one Dutch, and a little church belonging to the French Capuchin fathers, whose superior was the famous priest Brother Ambrozio. Afterwards the French came and built a handsome factory.' (*Storia do Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci, trans. by W. Irvine, Vol. I, pp. LVII, 62.).

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irregular living, the Kotwal sending his peons to conduct them out of the town to whatever place the Capuchin might desire. The Father used his influence in helping Hindus also, securing their release if imprisoned for some minor offence. He would boldly dispute about the merits of the Christian Faith even in the presence of the Governor and on one occasion he brought back to her duty a Christian woman who had deserted her religion and embraced Islam, himself going in person to take her away from the house of a nobleman who had seduced her.[1]

Father Ambrose intercedes with Shivaji for the Christians, 1664.

In his section on the 'Incursion of Shivaji', Thevenot mentions the magnificent courage with which, in January 1664, Fr. Ambrose went up to Shivaji on the evening of the first day, moved by compassion for the poor Christians resident at Surat, and spoke to the Raja in their favour, asking him at least to do no injury to their persons. Shivaji respected him, and took him under his protection, granting him his request. Though all the city, except the European factories, was pillaged, the invaders spared the Capuchin monastery at Surat, the pillagers passing by this convent when near it under orders received from their chief.[2] Bernier confirms this statement, for he says: "I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Surat, Sevagi, the holy Sevagi! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said, 'and shall not be molested'."[3]

Tavernier's account of the Capuchin Church at Surat.

The information supplied above in such detail may be supplemented by that given by Tavernier. After stating that the Mughal power did not permit the Europeans settled at Surat to have a house of their own lest they might convert the same into a fortress, he adds: 'The Reverend Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious one upon the model of the houses of Europe, with a beautiful Church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of Aleppo named Chalebi, of whom I have spoken in my account of Persia.'[4] Both the monastery and the church have now completely disappeared. In 1877 a wooden cross, on an open plot of land not far from the Municipal Hall, marked the site of the altar of the chapel or church of the Capuchin Fathers. A metal tablet attached to the cross bore a Latin inscription which read: 'Here stood the only altar of the

1 *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 223.
2. Ibid., 222.
3. Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*. Ed. by Constable and Smith, Milford, 1938.
4 Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, I. 7.

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ancient church of the Capuchins.'[1] Both the cross and the tablet have now disappeared.

The Chalebi mentioned by Tavernier was no doubt a member of the wealthy and influential family of foreign merchants, probably Syrian in origin, which we find carrying on trade at Surat during the second half of the 17th century. The English Factory Records relating to the years 1702–3 make frequent mention of one 'Sallemon or Sallamond Chellaby (Sulaiman Chalebi) a Turk,' who was in high favour with the Governor Diyanat Khan, but who was taken into custody and put into chains by the next Governor I'tebar Khan on the complaint of the Banya inhabitants of the city that he had extorted from them the sum of 83,000 rupees on behalf of his late master in connection with protection against the Maratha inroads.'[2] A Persian poem called *Quisseh-i-Rustom Manek*, recently edited by Sir Jivanji J. Modi, also refers to a rich merchant named Osman Chalebi at Surat. A large ship belonging to him, which was returning from Jeddah, had been captured at sea by the Portuguese and taken to Daman. At the request of the Governor Amanat Khan and other merchants, Rustom Manek, the leading Parsi magnate of the day, who was broker or *dalal* both to the Portuguese as well as to the English nations, was induced to undertake a journey to secure the return of the ship. Rustom Manek, thereupon, proceeded first to Daman and then by way of Bassein to Goa where he met the Portuguese governor and offered him presents. The matter was referred to the authorities at home and, after a nine months' stay at Goa, Rustom Manek returned to Surat in this very ship for the release of which he had worked so successfully.[3]

The Chalebi family at Surat.

Besides the two references mentioned above, we may mention that there is to-day a mosque at Surat situated in the Sodagarwad (merchants' quarter), behind the municipal or Mughalsarai building, which is still known as *Chalibini Masjid*.[4] The English Factory Records at Surat for the year 1748 also refer to a well known garden at Surat named 'Osman Chellaboy's Garden' which is described as immediately adjoining the Hon. Company's Garden.[5] The

Chalebi Masjid and Garden at Surat.

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol. II, Surat and Broach, 304.
2. G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc. in the Bombay Secretariat*, 1887, Home Series. Vol. I, pp 241, 243, 244, 264-66.
3. Sir J. J. Modi: 'Rustom Manek and the Persian Qisseh, in *Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, Dec 1930, Vol. VI, (N. S.), pp. 38-40.
4. *Ibid.* pp. 157-8, 163-4 and *n*.
5. G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc., in the Bombay Secretariat*, Home Series, Vol. I, pp. 285-86.

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well-known building known as the Darya Mahal at Surat is also said to have been built by a later Chalebi named Muhammad Saleh Chalebi, who was a great merchant and owner of many ships.[1] No traces of any descendants of this once famous family of Surat merchants can now be found in this city.[2]

The tomb of the jovial Dutchman at Surat.

In his account of the cemeteries of Surat, Thevenot says that they were situated outside the city, three or four hundred paces from the Broach gate,[3] and that, apart from those of the English and the Dutch, the Catholics had a special one of their own. These two nations used to adorn their tombs with 'brick pyramids coated with lime,' and at the time of his stay in Surat one was being built for a Dutch President which was to cost eight thousand francs. A very interesting account is given by our traveller of one of the Dutch tombs raised over the grave of a certain toper who had been banished to India by the States-General of Holland and who was said to be a relative of the Prince of

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The reference is to the troubled period in Surat history following upon the death in 1746 of Teg-Bakht Khan, the first independent governor or Nawab of Surat. There was civil strife for several years between Safdar Khan and Mia Achan, the son in law of the late ruler, in which the English and the Dutch at Surat took opposite sides. In 1748, the English, who had espoused the claims of Mia Achan, arranged for the detention of Safdar Khan in Osman Chalebi's Garden at Surat under guard for the space of twelve days. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, pp. 123-25)

1. Sir. J. J. Modi, 'Rustom Manek, etc.,' p. 164 and *n*.

2. Chalebi appears to have been a name representing a clan rather than a single family. It is interesting to note that the surname of Chalebi was also borne by the famous Turkish Admiral and writer Sidi Ali Reis, who was stranded on the Gujarat coast with his fleet in 1554 during the reign of Sultan Ahmad III of Gujarat, and who visited Surat when Rajab Salmani, the son of Safar, was governor of this city with the title of Khudawand Khan Sidi Ali was the author of the famous Turkish work, the *Mirat-ul Mamalik*. We have no reason to connect the Chalebi family of the later seventeenth century at Surat with this Sidi Ali who was only a bird of passage.

3. There is no gate in the present city-walls of Surat which is known as the Broach gate. In 1664, at the time of Shivaji's first sack of the city, Surat was surrounded by mud walls with some ill-built gates. Ogilby says (*Asia*, 211) that there were three, viz., one leading to Broach, Cambay and Ahmedabad; the other to Burhanpur; and the third to Navsari. The Broach gate was thus to the north. Thevenot mentions it twice, and Dr. John Fryer also says in 1675 that he went out by the Broach gate (*East India and Persia*, I, 252) When the new or 'inner' city walls of brick were made, the construction of which was witnessed both by Thevenot and Dr. Fryer, the gate to the N. W. of the city came to be familiarly called the Varlav gate, from the name of the first big village which had to be passed on the road to Broach. In the later or 'outer' city-walls, built in 1717, known as the *Alampanah*, which now surround Surat, there are two gates on this side, viz., the Varlav Gate in the N. W. and the Katargam Gate. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, 308-9).

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Orange.[1] 'To show that he was an adept in the art of drinking,' says our author,

> 'A large stone cup has been placed on top of the pyramid, and another cup at each of the corners of the tomb below, and besides each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf: and when the Dutch want to amuse themselves at this tomb, they make a hundred stews in these cups, and use other smaller cups to take what they have prepared out of the large ones, and then they eat or drink it.'[2]

The 'Begum Wadi' at Surat.

Another pleasant resort of Surat at the time when the place was visited by Thevenot was what he calls the Princess's Garden (Begum Wadi), named after the sister of the Great Mughal. This lady was the famous Jahanara Begum, sister to Aurangzeb and daughter of Shah Jahan. Surat had been given to her as Jagir and she founded the suburb known as Begumpura where the garden described by the French traveller was situated. According to his account, it contained several straight avenues, among these being four which traversed the garden cross-wise with a small channel in their midst. In the middle of this royal garden was a building with four fronts each having its divan in front of which was a square tank full of water, whence issued the streams which flowed along the main avenues. Thevenot, however, thought that the garden did not come up to the elegance of those in his native land with their bowers, their flower-beds or their accurate divisions.[3] This may not be in agreement with the opinion of some to-day that the Mughal gardens, especially those of Northern India, could hold their own against similar structures in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the Dutch traveller Stavorinus visited the Begum Wadi a century later, in 1775, he found it in a deplorable state of decay.[4]

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 217.
2. J. Ovington, who had evidently read Thevenot's *Travels* very carefully, makes a humorous reference to this unknown Dutchman's tomb at Surat. It was, he says, 'built by the order of a jovial Dutch commander, with three large punch bowls upon the top of it, for the entertainment and mirth of his surviving friends, who remember him there sometimes so much that they quite forget themselves.' (Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1929, p. 236).
3. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 218.
4. More than a hundred years later, on 21st November, 1775, the Dutch Captain and traveller, John Splinter Stavorinus, visited this garden of which he writes: 'I went to see the garden which had been laid out by Begum Saheb, sister to the celebrated Aurangzeb. I walked over it with Thevenot's *Travels* in my hand, and found everything perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumstance that that traveller saw it in its greatest splendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable state of

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Perhaps not the least interesting part of Thevenot's account of Surat is his chapter 'On Tary',[1] the popular beverage among a very large section of the country population of this district. 'Tary' says our traveller, 'is a liquor which they drink with pleasure in the Indies'. It is drawn, he adds, from two sorts of palm-trees, viz. from the *Cadgiour* (Khajur) palm and from that which bears the Coco. We shall quote Thevenot's account of the manner in which the juice was extracted to show how close and accurate his observation was, as also how the methods of to-day hardly differ from those practised three centuries ago :

Account of the *Tary*—a famous beverage.

> 'They who draw it gird loins with a thick leather girdle, wherewith they embrace the trunk of the tree, that they may climb up without a ladder ; and when they are come to that part of the tree from which they would draw the Tary, they make an incision one inch deep and three inches wide, with a pretty heavy iron chisel, so that the hole enters into the pith of the Cadgiour (Khajur)

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decay.' (J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, trans. by S. H. Wilcocke London, 1798, Vol. III, p. 177.)

A fuller account by the same writer, printed in another volume of the same work, is given below :

'The pleasure-garden laid out by Begum Saheb, the sister of Aurangzeb, is at present in a most desolate state of dilapidation. This is situated in the outer town, near the Nassari (Navsari) Gate. Thevenot, who was here in the year 1666, and calls it the *garden of the princess*, describes it with much accuracy and fidelity. It remains still in an entire state ; and I went over the whole of it, with his description in my hand. Most of the trees, however, have been cut down ; and few remain but those constituting the four chief walks, and one or two of the others, being all tamarind trees. Flowers are not found here ; all the ground is sown with different sorts of pulse and greens. It is surrounded by a high wall, and, I compute, covers about fifteen or sixteen acres. The above mentioned traveller says that it lies out of the city ; but the suburbs were not then encircled by walls.' (Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. II, 468-9).

1 *Tari*, now often written in the corrupted form of toddy, is the fermented sap of the *Tar* or palmyra tree, as also of other palms, such as the date and the coco palm. An early reference to this drink by a Muslim writer is that by Sidi Ali Reis, the Turkish admiral, who was stranded on the western coast and who visited Gujarat in 1554 (H. 962). After describing the liquor, he mentions a drunken brawl as the result of his men indulging in the forbidden drink (*Travels of Sidi Ali Reis*, trans. by A. Vambéry, Luzac, 1899, p. 29.). References to the *Tari* are made by several of the European travellers of the 17th century, viz., Della Valle, Sir T. Herbert, Van Twist, La Boullaye-le-Gouz Dr. J. Fryer, etc. Of these, the most interesting is that by Della Valle who was entertained in 1623 by the Dutch factors at Broach : 'They treated us till night drinking of Tari, which is a liquor drawn from the nut-trees of India, whitish and a little troubled, of taste somewhat sourish and sweet too, not unpleasing to the palate, almost like our Poignant or Brisk-wine ; yet it inebriates as wine doth if drunk immoderately.' (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 62). See also *Hobson-Jobson*.

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other varieties of precious stones to be found in India. A considerable trade was carried on in other commodities and drugs such as musk, amber, myrrh, ince se, manna, sal-ammoniac, quicksilver, lac, indigo, 'the root roenas for dyeing red', and 'in general all those articles which foreign merchants buy for being sold into all parts of the world.'[1]

1. Thevenot's *Travels in the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 17.

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CHAPTER IX

THEVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOPI TALAV AT SURAT: WHO WAS MALIK GOPI ?

The Gopi Talav described.

The once famous reservoir and pleasure-resort at Surat, the Gopi Talav, has been mentioned by almost every European traveller of note who visited this city during the seventeenth century.[1] P. Della Valle, the Italian traveller, who was at Surat in 1623, more than forty years before Thevenot, has left an excellent account of this lake, and that given by our traveller may be said to equal it in fullness and accuracy. Thevenot mentions the reservoir in his chapter entitled *Of Diverse Curiosities at Surat*, and says that it was situated near the Daman Gate, 'where the finest walk of the district begins.' It was a musket shot in diameter, and had sixteen angles, and each of its sides was one hundred paces in length.[2] The bottom of the reservoir was paved

1. We give below references to the Gopi Talav given by various European travellers and writers, some of whom borrow from their predecessors without making an acknowledgment :

(i) Sir T. Roe. (1615) : *Embassy to the Court of the Great Moghul*, Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 112.

(ii) P. Della Valle (1623) : *Travels of*, in India, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, I, 34-5.

(iii) Sir T. Herbert (1627) : *Some Years' Travel into Africa and Asia the Great*, London, 1638, p. 36 f.

(iv) J. Albert de Mandelslo (1638) : *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, trans. By J. Davies, London 1662, p. 24; see Commissariat M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, p. 11.

(v) John Ogilby (1673) : *Asia*, London, p. 211.

(vi) *Jean de Thevenot (1666) : Travels into the Indies*, trans. By A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 25.

(vii) J. Fryer, Dr. (1675) : *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1672-1681), Ed. By W. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 261.

(viii) A. Hamilton (c. 1690) : *A New Account of the East Indies*, (1688-1723), Edinburgh, 1727, Vol. I, 161-2.

(ix) J. S. Stavorinus (1775) : *Voyage to the East Indies*, trans. by Wilcocke, Vol. II, 472.

2. Sir Thomas Roe, who was at Surat in 1615, says that the lake was a polygon in form, with a hundred sides, each of eight and twenty yards. It had steps on all sides for people to descend and many slopes for horses. He adds, 'It is a wondrous work, both for the hugeness and for the brave building.' (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 112.) According to Della Valle, the diameter of the lake was 'two good furlongs' (*Travels*, Vol. I, 32.)

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with large smooth stones and it was surrounded by steps of fine free-stone after the manner of an amphitheatre reaching from the top of the tank down to the bottom. Where there were no steps there was a sloping descent to the basin.

Its pleasure-house and supply-canal.

In the middle of the reservoir was an island on which stood a stone building, some 25 feet high and as many in length and width, which was mounted by two small staircases. This pleasure-house could only be approached by boat and here the people from the town came to take the air and enjoy themselves. The great tank was filled with rain-water. After flowing through the country-side, where it formed a large canal, over which bridges had to be made, the water was made to run into a large area enclosed by walls, whence it passed into the great reservoir through three circular outlets each having a diameter of over four feet.[1] Thevenot mentions the popular tradition that the lake was constructed at the expense of a rich Banya named Gopi for the public benefit. He adds that formerly no other water but that from this tank was drunk at Surat and that the five wells, which supplied the whole city with water at the time he was there, were made a long time after the tank was constructed. 'It is most certainly,' he adds, 'a piece of work worthy of a king, and may well be compared to the finest ever built by the Romans for the public benefit.' He notes, however, that for lack of proper care in upkeep, the reservoir was silted up with six feet of slime in his time, and his foreboding that it would be completely filled up with earth some day 'unless some charitable Banya has it cleared out' has been amply fulfilled during the last two centuries.[2]

'A work worthy of a king.'

Dr. John Fryer's account of the Gopi Talav when he saw it in 1675, nine years after Thevenot, is also very interesting. After saying that it was outside the walls of Surat and a mile in circumference, he adds: 'Many sumptuous mausoleums are erected near its brink, with aqueducts to convey water with which, were it filled, the best ship that swims in the sea might ride in it. It looks now more like a circus or gymnasium, able enough to contain as many as such spectacles would delight. In their great solemnities it is usual for them to set it around with lamps

Dr. J. Fryer on the Gopi Talav, 1675.

1. 'The Cistern or Lake at Surat hath a great trench (i. e. canal) adjoined to it on one side, long, large and deep,—over which certain small bridges are built; and it falls into another less Cistern a good way off; 'tis built with many sides of stone like the former, as also the banks of the trench are. Between the great lake and the less, upon the trench, stands a small Cupola or arched structure, made for the sepulture of some principal Mahometans of the country.' (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, 33.)

2. *Jean de Thevenot's Account of Surat*, Indian Antiquary, 1927, Vol. LVI, p. 218.

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to the number of two or three *lecques* (lakhs), which is so many hundred thousand in our account.'[1]

The site of the once famous Gopi Talav at Surat is at present to be found west of the suburb of Salabatpura and north of Rustumpura.

Present condition of the Gopi Talav at Surat.

The area of about 58 acres of land covered by the bed and banks of this old reservoir is now occupied by fields and trees and a few houses. The stone steps which once rose tier above tier to the level of the ground have now completely disappeared, the stones being carried off partly to build the outer city wall (in 1717) and partly to make the large well that now stands within the former bed of the lake. In fact, so thoroughly was the whole place dismantled, that the Dutch Sea-Captain Stavorinus, who visited Surat in 1775, searching about for the great tank 'with Thevenot's *Travels* in his hands, could not discover it.'[2] According to the Persian inscription, the well mentioned above was constructed by Haidar Quli Khan, who was Governor of Surat during the reign of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, and in whose time the outer city wall (*Alampanah*) was begun. The Gopi Talav is one of the most historic of the memorials of Surat belonging to the early period of the Gujarat Saltanat.

We shall now proceed to put together all the historical information available to us about this powerful Hindu noble Gopi who

Who was Malik Gopi?

was evidently a native of Surat and who built this famous Gopi Talav in that city besides founding the suburb known as Gopipura. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, he was a Brahman raised to power by Sultan Mahmud Begada, and later became a great minister of state under Sultan Muzaffar II, being a colleague of Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk. At his intercession, the life of Rav Bhim of Idar, who had been defeated, was spared by the Sultan. He later fell into disfavour for allowing his servant to beat to death a young man, named Ahmad Khan, who at an entertainment in Malik Gopi's house came disguised as a torch-bearer to see a very handsome dancing girl owned by Gopi. The Sultan was enraged at the death of the young man, and ordered Gopi's house and effects to be plundered, after which he was brought before the Sultan with his hands tied behind his back. At the King's orders he was put to death.[3]

The Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, one of the earliest of the long series of European travellers in India during the

1. J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1672-81. Ed. by W. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 261.
2. J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, trans. by S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798, Vol. II, 472.
3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 96, 131-33.

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17th century, who visited Gujarat in 1623, has, with the exactness so characteristic of his writings, given us an account of the Gopi Talav at Surat which is even more detailed than that given by Thevenot. He visited Surat no less than forty-three years before the French traveller and saw the lake in all its pristine beauty and splendour. We do not propose to reproduce here what he says of the lake itself, but his reference to Malik Gopi's daughter, or rather descendant, who was alive in his time, is of special interest:

P. Della Valle on the poverty of Gopi's descendants, 1623.

> 'Tis no long time this Cistern (the Gopi Talav) was made, according to the common report, by a private man of this city but sufficiently wealthy, whose daughter, they say, or rather one descended from him, is still living, and I know not by what sinister hap of fortune very poor, so that she hath scarce bread to eat. Wherein I observed a great ingratitude of the citizens of Surat, in suffering his heir to want food, who for their public benefit had been at so great expense.'[1]

Another interesting reference to Malik Gopi and the poverty of his daughter is contained in an English work on Eastern travels written in the 17th century. John Ogilby,[2] 'cosmographer, geographic printer and master of the revels in the kingdom of Ireland' to his Majesty Charles II, published in London in 1673, in a large folio volume, a work called *Asia*, which is described as the fifth volume of the publisher's *English Atlas*. It is an account of Persia and of the empire of the Great Mughal and other parts of India. Ogilby was not a traveller, nor does it appear that he ever visited India. But he expressly says that his account was 'collected and translated from the most authentic authors and augmented

J. Ogilby on Malik Gopi, 1673.

1. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Ed. by Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 33-34.

2. John Ogilby (1600-1676) was a Scottish writer born in or near Edinburgh. He accompanied Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, when he went to Ireland in 1633 as Lord Deputy, and became tutor to his children and was later appointed deputy master of the revels in Ireland. On the outbreak of the civil war in 1641 he lost everything, and returned to England where he studied the Classics and translated Vergil into English heroic verse, followed by translations of Homer and Aesop. At the Restoration, Ogilby received a commission from Charles II for the 'poetical part' of the coronation. In 1662 he obtained a patent for master of the revels in Ireland. The Great Fire of 1666 destroyed his house at Whitefriars along with stock to the value of £ 3000. He soon after rebuilt his house and set up a large printing establishment, being invested with the ornamental titles of 'King's Cosmographer and Geographic Printer.' Ogilby printed many magnificent books, mostly in folio, several of them being illustrated, or, as he expressed it, 'adorned with sculpture,' by Hollar and other eminent engravers. During the last years of his life, Ogilby devoted himself to the production of books of geography and topography copiously illustrated with maps and engravings. (Dict. of Nat. Biog. Vol. XLII, pp. 14 17).

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with later observations.' His historical details are generally valuable and we give below the reference which he makes to Malik Gopi, after a short description of the famous Gopi Talav at Surat :

> 'This pond was made by a rich inhabitant of this city with the expense of his whole estate, in so much that his daughter became miserably poor none of the townsmen once relieving her, though her father had for their accommodation and the public good exhausted all his treasure. The pool is called Gopi Talav from the builder whose name was Gopi.'[1]

Portuguese accounts of Gopi: Duarte Barbosa.

It is from Portuguese sources, however, that we get a large part of the information available to us about this Hindu minister of the Gujarat Sultans. Duarte Barbosa, an officer in the service of the Portuguese in India, visited the towns of Gujarat in 1515, and when writing about the city of Surat he makes the following reference to Malik Gopi. 'Hitherto', he says, 'a heathen named Milocoxim (Millogopin) held sway and governed here, whom the King of Cambay ordered to be slain on account of the evil reports he received of him. This man was a great friend of the Portuguese.'[2] The famous historian João de Barros, 'the Livy of Portugal', also refers to Gopi in his well known work *Decadas da Asia*.[3] As the Italian traveller Pietro Lella Valle, who visited Gujarat in 1623, is the only writer who has specially pointed out this reference in Barros, it would be best to quote his very accurate remarks in full :

Della Valle's reference to the History of Barros.

> 'This pool of Surat is called Gopi Talav, that is, the Pool of Gopi, which was his name who made it at his own charge. 'Tis not improbable that this Gopi, who made this Piscina of Surat, is the same whom Giovanni di Barros, in his Second Decade of Asia, frequently mentions with the title of Malik, and relates to have been in those times, a little above a hundred years ago, a great friend to the Postugals ; styling him often Lord of Barocci (Broach), and once in the last book, Lord of Surat; but I rather believe that he was only Governor of either of these cities, under the then Mahometan Kings of Cambayia (as he speaks), that is, of Guzarat. ...'Tis, therefore, possible that Malik Gopi, mentioned by Barros, made this Cistern when he was Governor of Surat, it being the work, and expense, of such a person.'[4]

1. J. Ogilby : *Asia*, London, fol. 1673, p. 211.
2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. and ed. by M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 149-150.
3. João de Barros, *Decadas Da Asia*, Dec. II, Lib. IV, c. 6 ; Lib. VI, c. 2 ; Lib. X, c. 1.
4. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Ed. by Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 34-35.

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But perhaps the most important contemporary Portuguese references to Malik Gopi are contained in the *Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque*, the Governor and Captain-General of India from 1509 to 1516. We gather that in 1512 the Governor sent Tristão Déga from Goa to the Sultan of Gujarat, with presents, to demand leave to build a fortress at Div, then in charge of the great admiral Malik Ayaz. The next year, in August, 1513, when Albuquerque reached Chaul on his way back from Aden, he met there Tristão Déga who had landed at the place only two days before. The latter recounted that he had been well received but that the Sultan had answered very coldly in the matter of Div, though he had offered other places on the coast where the Portuguese might build a fort and effect a settlement. The ambassador also gave the Governor a letter from 'Melecopi' (Malik Gopi), 'one of the principal Moors of the kingdom,' manifesting a desire to serve the King of Portugal. It appears that Tristão Déga had gone as far as Champaner where he had the above interview with the Sultan on the latter's return from a war against Mandu. It was in the same city that Malik Gopi gave him the letter mentioned above. The ambassador also learned from Malik Gopi that Malik Ayaz was the principal instigator of the royal refusal. Albuquerque, we are told, replied to Melecopi (Malik Gopi) 'giving him many thanks for the care he had taken in the affairs of the king, his lord, and leading him to indulge in hope of a great reward for his services.'[1]

Reference to Malik Gopi in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque.*

The possession of a fortified settlement at Div on the Gujarat coast was, however, one principal object of the policy of the great Albuquerque in the East. Early in 1514, therefore, he sent another embassy, on a far more magnificent scale, under Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira to discuss the matter further with the Sultan of Gujarat. Among the very costly presents which the ambassadors carried for the King were a collar of gold enamelled, several yards of black velvet, brocades from Persia and China, etc. In order further to improve the prestige of the embassy, the Captain-General of Goa sent as a present twenty horses well-harnessed as also silver vessels for the royal table, while a posse of native peons attended the ambassadors. While setting forth on their voyage the envoys sent a Portuguese named Pero Queimado and a Hindu called Ganpatim, who knew the language of the province, to go in advance and secure a safe-conduct from the 'King of Cambay', this being the name under which the rulers of Gujarat were called by the Portuguese and the Arabs during the 15th

Albuquerque sends a second embassy to Gujarat, 1514.

1. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque.*, Second Viceroy of India, trans. by W. de Gray Birch, Hakluyt Society, Vol. III. 245; Vol. IV. 60-61.

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and 16th centuries. The story of this imposing embassy forms a most interesting chapter in the history of Gujarat, but we shall describe its activities only so far as the Portuguese records, contained in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, help to shed some light on the career of Malik Gopi.[1]

The ambassadors reach Surat, 15 March, 1514.

The two ambassadors Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira found the weather so adverse that they did not reach Surat till 15th March, 1514. As the men whom they had sent in advance had not returned to this port from Champaner where they had gone, the envoys asked Dastur Khan, the governor of the city, for permission to embark. He sent a safe-conduct readily, having received orders from the King to welcome them with honour. Two Captains, one of whom was Meababu, brother of Malik Gopi, in whose house they were to be lodged at Surat, were instructed to meet them and to provide them with relays of riding horses and waggons for their baggage. After paying a formal visit to the governor at his house, for he was in bed with illness, and accepting the dresses of honour which he offered, the two ambassadors took up their quarters in the house of Malik Gopi's brother, which had been proposed for their residence.[2]

Malik Gopi, 'out of favour with the King.'

After a stay of three or four days at Surat, Dastur Khan sent word to them that he had received a letter from the King ordering him to send the ambassadors to his court after supplying them everything necessary for the journey. But at this juncture Pero Queimado arrived bringing with him news that 'Milecopi (Malik Gopi) was out of the court and out of favour with the king.' Upon this the ambassadors, who had been specially instructed by Albuquerque to do nothing without consulting this friendly nobleman, desired to return to Goa giving various excuses to the governor about this sudden change of plans. But Dastur Khan pointed out to them through Meababu that they would be lacking in courtsey to the King if they returned when their safe-conduct had been secured and everything was ready for their journey. It was, he said, necessary to his own safety that he should first acquaint the king with this alteration in their intentions. The firm attitude taken up by the governor made it clear to the ambassadors that they could not act otherwise than as he wished them to do, and they sent word that they would comply with his desires. On March 28, therefore, they set out from Surat being escorted by one Meacamadin, with thirty peon archers, who went along to arrange for their halting places. The embassy reached Champaner on April 4

The embassy arrives at Champaner, April 4, 1514.

1. *Commentaries of the Great D'Albuquerque*, op. cit, IV, 77, 93-94.
2. Ibid., 95.

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and took up their quarters in a vegetable garden close to the town where they clothed themselves in their best to go and see Malik Gopi who was at that time in this city.[1]

When Malik Gopi learnt about the arrival of the Portuguese ambassadors he sent one of his sons, in charge of a large body of horse and foot and a great number of trumpeters, to receive them. And so they passed the night being richly entertained and nobly banqueted by him. Diogo Fernandez de Beja now delivered to Malik Gopi a letter which he had brought with him from Afonso Albuquerque along with a present and related the object of his mission. Malik Gopi informed him that, after the departure of the former envoy Tristao Déga, Malik Ayaz had gone personally to the king and had advised him repeatedly not to grant permission for a fortress at Div to the Firingis, pointing out that should they erect one there, it would be with the object of eventually wresting his kingdom from him. As the result of this advice, the Sultan had so strongly fortified the island of Div that there was little fear of any power on earth being able to prevail against it. After several long conversations between Malik Gopi and the envoys, in which he gave them full advice as to how they should conduct themselves and the line of action they should adopt, the latter took leave of him and set out on their way to 'Madoval' (Ahmadabad) where the king then was. Malik Gopi sent with them one of the principal men in his household, with six horsemen in his train, as company, and advised them on no account to lodge anywhere except at the place which this man of his should indicate to them.[2]

Gopi explains the hostility of Malik Ayaz.

The envoys leave Champaner for the capital.

This is not the place to relate in any detail the important events connected with the visit of the Portuguese ambassadors at Ahmadabad where they were given a fitting reception by 'Codamacao' (Khudawand Khan) who was the chief minister of the Sultan. The next day the ambassadors were taken in great state to the royal palace where the king (Muzaffar II) gave them an audience, and Diogo Fernandez presented him the letter, written in Arabic, which had been sent by Afonso Albuquerque. After this, for several days, there were long discussions between the minister and the envoys about their reciprocal demands and the advantages that either power could confer on the other by a treaty of alliance. Khudawand Khan at last delivered to the Portuguese envoys the decision dictated by the king in which the latter declared that he would be happy to grant to the Captain-General of India a site for a fortress at any of the following places, viz., Broach, Surat, Mahim,

The ambassadors at Ahmadabad.

1. Ibid., 96–97.
2. Ibid., 98.

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Dumas, or Bacar (? Bulsar). But Diogo Fernandez replied that he carried no instructions from Albuquerque enabling him to accept any other site than at Div. After some further discussions, Khudawand Khan sent word to the ambassadors that they were to go and take leave of the Sultan as the despatch which they were to carry back had been drawn up. This was done, and along with the letter the king sent a present of Gujarat goods, as well as 'an animal called *genda*,'[1] which was then at Champaner and was to be handed over to them when they arrived at Surat. The horses and waggons being now provided, the envoys left Ahmadabad and reached Surat on the 8th May 1514[2].

They spend the rainy season at Surat.

When the Portuguese ambassadors arrived at Surat, they found that the weather at sea had become boisterous, so that they could not venture on the voyage to Goa. It was decided, therefore, to spend the rainy season in this city in spite of very strict written instructions given to them by Albuquerque on no account 'to winter in Cambay'. When the monsoon was well nigh over, the envoys secured from Dastur Khan three vessels for their transport and they embarked for Goa taking with them all their baggage as well as the 'creature' called the *Genda* or rhinoceros which had by this time reached Surat. The party reached Goa on 15th September 1514, when they found the Captain-General of India in a great state of alarm as he had received no news of them for a long time. Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira related to him all the details of their mission, pointing out that the King of Gujarat would not grant them a fortress at Div, because Malik Ayaz was against it and carried out his intrigues by means of 'corrupt bribes', which he was constantly giving to Bilirrane (Bibi Rani) the king's chief wife who ruled him.[3]

Reference to Muzaffar II and his kingdom.

The *Commentaries of the Great Albuquerque* supply us here with some very interesting information about the kingdom of Gujarat. We are told that the king who was on the throne (Muzaffar II) when Diogo Fernandez reached *the court was a man of forty years of age, a state*ment which agrees with the date of his birth as given

1. The historian Joao de Barros (1553) refers in his work to this incident as follows:—'And in return for many rich presents which this Diogo Fernandez carried to the King (of Gujarat), and besides others which the king sent to Afonso Albuquerque, there was an animal, the biggest which nature has created after the elephant, and the great enemy of the latter ... which the natives of the land of Cambaya, whence this one came, call Genda, and the Greeks and Latins Rhinoceros. And *Afonso D'Albuquerque* sent this to the king Don Manuel, and it came to this kingdom, and it was afterwards lost on its way to Rome, when the king sent it as a present to the Pope'. (*Barros, Dec. II*, Liv. X, cap. 1).

2. *Commentaries of the Great Albuquerque*, op. cit., IV, 98-105.

3. Ibid., 105.

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by the Persian historians. He was married to a Rajput, 'a woman of great worth and estimation called Bilrriane,' and besides her he had five hundred others. He was fond of falcon-hunting and when he went to the chase he was always accompanied by three hundred huntsmen on horses. He spent most of his time in the city of 'Madoval' (Ahmadabad) because it was near to the mountain ranges of the Rajputs with whom he was constantly at war. This city was a 'league in length, very luxuriant, with many entertaining sights and palatial houses.' But all the royal treasure, artillery, and munitions of war were kept in the city of Champaner, because of its great strength and 'where they had a fortress on a mountain (Pavagadh) in which were stationed certain nobles in whom the king reposed the greatest confidence and who were always on guard with a large standing force of cavalry.'[1]

Date of Malik Gopi's death, c. 1515.

No further reference to Malik Gopi, after his consultation with and his advice to the Portuguese ambassadors in April, 1514, is available to us either in the *Commentaries* of the famous Albuquerque or in the history of João de Barros. We may presume, therefore, that the fact specifically stated in the history of the embassy, viz., that Gopi was 'out of favour at court', was soon followed by the events leading to his execution by the order of Muzaffa-Shah II as described in detail by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, as already mentioned. It is also possible that he was put to death some time early in 1515, for when Duarte Barbosa visited the towns of Gujarat in this year, he makes, with reference to port of Surat, the circumstantial statement that 'hitherto a heathen named Milocoxim (Malik Gopi) held sway and governed here, whom the king of Cambay ordered to be slain on account of the evil reports he received of him.' If, further, as the Persian historian has stated, Gopi's wealth and property were delivered over by the Sultan's orders to plunder, it helps to confirm the statements made in Della Valle's *Travels* and in John Ogilby's *Asia* that his daughter was reduced at Surat to a position of great poverty and misery.

Remarks on his career.

Malik Gopi's name stands out in bold relief as that of a Hindu citizen of Gujarat who rose not only to great wealth but also to a commanding political position as a nobleman and minister during the long rule of the Gujarat Sultans. Though he was befriended by Malik Sarang (Kiwam-ul-Mulk) during the rule of Muzaffar II, it is probable that the fact of a Brahman enjoying such extensive power and wealth, and making such an ostentatious display of the same in luxurious entertainments,

1. Ibid., 106-8.

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may have roused the jealousy of the ruling nationality in the capital city of Gujarat and led to his downfall. It is also clear that, in combination with Malik Sarang, Gopi used his power to oppress the people, for the Persian historian says that the entire administration of the capital was in their hands and they did what they pleased regardless of the orders of the Sultan until not even the naturally mild and clement disposition of Muzaffar II could tolerate Gopi's tyranny over his Muslim subjects.[1]

Historical traditions at Surat about Malik Gopi.

The information about Gopi available to us from the formal histories and books on travel may be supplemented by the historical traditions about him current in Surat more than half a century ago which have been put into writing in the local histories of this city in Urdu and Gujarati. We gather from these that Surat was a place of little consequence upto the fifteenth century, and that the establishment of its prosperity as a modern city dates from the time of Malik Gopi and the end of that century. His name is given as Gopinath or Gopinaik, and, though his caste is disputed, some accounts make him out to be a Nâgar Brahman, others an Anavala Brahman. He developed into a rich Hindu trader and his success in business attracted many merchants to Surat from surrounding places, especially from Rander. He founded one of the suburbs of the town called in his honour Gopipura, and enlarged a pond lining it with stone and making it the chief ornament of the city. As a reward for the flourishing condition to which he had brought Surat, the Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar *II*, honoured Gopi with the title of Malik ; and his wife, known as the Rani, founded a second ward, the Ranichakla, and built a reservoir known as the Rani Talav.[2]

Origin of the name Surat.

The traditions mentioned above appear to have considerable historical basis. But we are unable to accept those that follow. We are told that so far Gopi's town had no name, and that, consulting the astrologer, he fixed on the name Suraj, or Suryapur, i.e., the city of the Sun. He, therefore, sent a request to Sultan Muzaffar *II* of Gujarat for leave to have the town called by this name. The Sultan, however, did not altogether like the idea of a new town in his realm bearing a purely Hindu name ; so, changing just the final letter of the word Suraj, he decreed that the city should be called Surat, a term surely free from all objection, since it was identical with the word employed in Arabic to designate each chapter of the holy Quran. The story is

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 131-33.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, *Surat and Broach*, 70-71 and *n*; *The Narmagadya*, or the Prose Works of Kavi Narmadashankar, Ed. by R. S. Mahipatram R. Nilkanth (in Gujarati), Bombay, 1888, pp. 277-79.

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fantastic and without any historical justification, for we find Surat mentioned, generally along with Rander, already in the first half of the 15th century, or perhaps even earlier.[1] The detailed reference by Barbosa to the commercial prosperity of the city in the year 1514–15[2] renders inevitable the conclusion that the importance of Surat dates back considerably before the days of the merchant-prince and minister Gopi.

1. Fathullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 11. The earliest reference to Surat in the *Arabic History of Gujarat* is of the year H. 800 (A. D. 1456) during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah II.

2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Ed. by M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 142.

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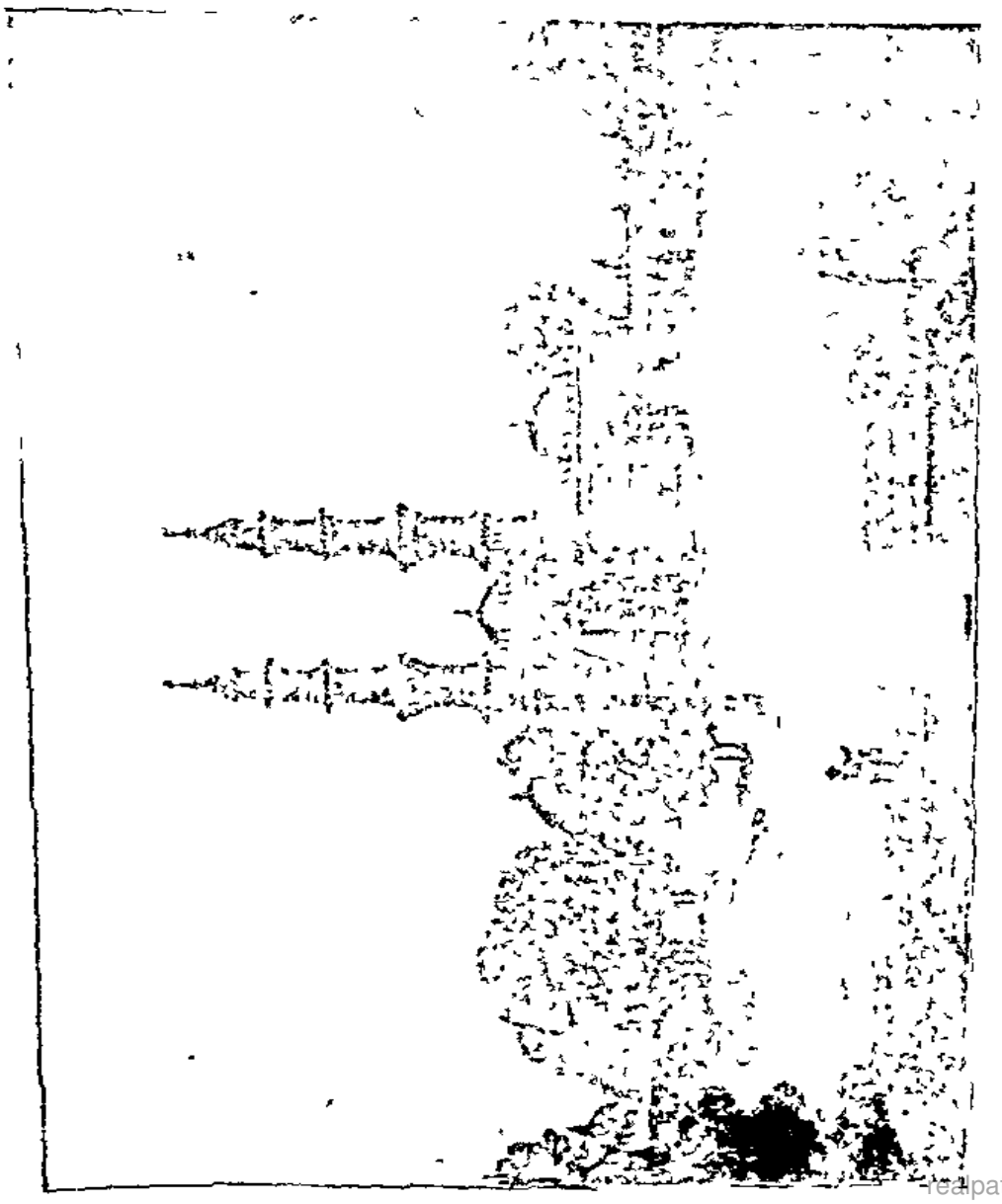

THE JAMI MASJID AT AHMADABAD
(Drawing by James Forbes in 178[illegible]

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CHAPTER X

THEVENOT'S TOUR THROUGH THE CITIES OF GUJARAT FROM SURAT TO AHMADABAD

After a stay of some twenty days at Surat, Thevenot started on Feb. 1, 1666, for the journey northward to Ahmadabad, going out of the city by the Broach gate. We shall briefly give an account of this journey partly because it illustrates the direction of the trade-routes in Gujarat at this period and also because of some interesting descriptions which the traveller gives about the places and people on the way. Two hours after leaving Surat he crossed the Tapti in a boat which, though big enough, was 'very incommodious for taking in of chariots, because the sides of it were two feet high. Eight men were forced to carry mine after they had taken out the oxen, and I was about half an hour in crossing the river.'[1] The journey was continued past the town of Variav to the river Kim, thence to Ankleswar, and then crossing the Narbada to Broach.[2]

From Surat to Broach.

The fortress of Broach, says Thevenot, is large and square, standing on a hill, for which reason it is visible from a great distance. The stone walls surrounding the town were flanked by large round towers or bastions about thirty paces from each other. The bazar or market place was in a great street at the foot of the hill. In this town were made the *baftas* or 'cotton-stuffs' which were sold in large numbers in the Indies. The water of the Narbada was considered excellent for bleaching cloth which was brought from all parts to be whitened there.[3] The fortifications on the land side were neglected, for Thevenot mentions several great breaches in the walls on the land side. The Dutch kept a factor in this town for looking after the

Account of Broach: its walls and its trade.

1. *Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1686, p. 6.

2. In spite of the outlandish spellings, it is not very difficult to identify the place-names mentioned by Thevenot which are as follows:—Beriao (Variav); Oucliser (Ankleshwar); the Nardaba (Narbada); Baroche (Broach); Sourban (Sarbhar); the Dader (Dhadhar); Debca (Dabca); Petnad (Petlad), the Mai (Mahi); Sousentra (Sojitra), Mader (Matar); Baradjia (Bareja); Amadabad (Ahmadabad).

3. The famous French jeweller and traveller J. B. Tavernier also refers to this fact: 'the river Narbada possesses a peculiar property for bleaching callcoes and they bring them for this reason from all quarters of the empire of the Great Mogul.' (*Tavernier's Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, Vol. I, 66.)

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clearing and quick despatch of their goods at the customs-house since all goods had to pay duty.[1]

Leaving Broach, Thevenot continued his journey to the north passing the little town of Sarbhan, after which, having crossed the Dhadhar[2] river and several other villages, he arrived at a place called Dabka[3] which lay on the side of a wood. It may be identified with the well-known village on the Mahi river now situated in the Baroda State. The author gives a rather unusual account of the man-eating inhabitants of Dabka which we quote below :

The savages of Dabka on the Mahi.

'The inhabitants of this town were formerly such as are called Merdi-coura[4] or Anthropophagi, man-eaters, and it is not very many years since man's flesh was there publicly sold in the markets. That place seems to be a nest of robbers ; the inhabitants, who are for the most part armed with swords, are a most impudent sort of people. Passengers that know them are always upon their guard, nay, and are obliged to carry a lance with them when they go to do their needs.'[5]

'*Merdi-Coura*.'

From Dabka our author crossed the Mahi river and proceeded to Petlad, and thence to Sojitra where he saw a fine stepwell, and further on to Matar, until he arrived at Jitbag (now Jetalpur), two and a half leagues from Ahmadabad. He met on this road a great many Kolis who, he says, moved about from village to village and whose chief business was to pick and clean the cotton. The famous garden and buildings at Jitbag are briefly described by Thevenot. He says that it was a 'pretty handsome' garden by the side of a reservoir and that he walked in it and found a great many monkeys and peacocks there. The

From the Mahi to Jitbag near Ahmadabad.

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

2. The Dhadhar is a small river in the north of the Broach District. It passes between the sub-divisions of Amod and Jambusar and falls into the gulf of Cambay some twenty miles south of the estuary of the Mahi. About seven miles from its mouth the Dhadhar joins the creek on the eastern bank of which is situated the port of Tankari.

3. Dabka is a large village, in the Padra subdivision of the Baroda State, situated on the left bank of the Mahi river eighteen miles distant from the capital. 'A delightful ride over a soft sandy road shaded by the tamarind, the mango, the mhowra and many a graceful tree leads from Baroda to Dabka through a park-like country. The country in the neighbourhood of the village is very picturesque with the hills and the deep ravines descending to the low bed of the great river Mahi.' The hunting expeditions of the Gaikwads of Baroda, on account of the deer and boar preserves in the neighbourhood have given to Dabka a special importance. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII, *Baroda*, 542-4.)

4. This is a corrupted form of the Persian *mardum khwar* which means a cannibal (lit., man-eater).

5. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 7.

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dwelling house in it was running into ruins and the royal house not far off was in very bad repair also.[1]

History of the *Jitbag* near Ahmadabad.

The *Jitbag*, or garden of victory, mentioned above by Thevenot, deserves some remarks for it was visited by many other travellers, being on the direct line of the trade-route between Cambay and Ahmadabad. It is now absorbed in the village lands of Jetalpur, some five miles to the south of the Jamalpur gate of the city of Ahmadabad. In 1623, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, this place was the site of a famous battle in the civil war between the Emperor's forces and the army of his rebellious son Prince Shah Jahan. The former were commanded by Saif Khan, one of the royal officers in charge of Gujarat, while the troops of the Prince were led by his able general Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. In the battle of Jetalpur the Prince's forces were defeated (June 10, 1623), and Abdullah Khan fled by way of Baroda, Broach and Surat to join the Prince who was at Burhanpur. The Emperor, to show his appreciation of Saif Khan's services exalted him with the title of Nawab Saif Khan Jahangir Shahi. It was to commemorate this signal victory that Saif Khan laid out a garden in the village of Jetalpur and called it Jitbag, or 'the garden of victory.'[2] Tavernier also makes the following reference to the place: 'It is one of the most beautiful houses of the Great Mogul and a vast enclosure where there are extensive gardens and all the embellishments of which the genius of the Indians is capable.'[3] We must be careful to distinguish this Jitbag from the *Fateh Bag* near Sarkhej, sometimes miscalled *Jitbag*, on the opposite bank of the Sabarmati, which was constructed in 1583–84 by the famous Abdurrahim Khan, the Khan Khanan, during the reign of Akbar after his great victory at this place over the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat.

Arrival at Ahmadabad.

Thevenot's next halt was at Ahmadabad, the capital city of Gujarat and the headquarters of the provincial viceroy. Some of his opening comments upon this city are conjectural or based on misinformation, as, for example, when he says that the city is mentioned by Arrian or that it was named *Gardabad* (abode of dust) by Shah Jahan. But his statements that the ruling Mughal often entrusted its government to one of his sons, and that at this time a great *amir* or noble named Mahabat Khan was governor, are quite true to facts. On arrival at the city he went to lodge at the caravansarai, which was probably the noble pile erected

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 7–8.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, The Memoirs of Jahangir, trans. by Rogers and Beveridge, II; *Suppl. to the Mirat-i Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 22
3. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, trans. Ball, Vol. I, 71.

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more gates which are at the head of pretty fair streets. In this maidan there are several little square buildings, about three fathom high, which are tribunals for the Kotwal who is the criminal judge. In the middle of the place there is a very high tree purposely planted for the exercise of those who learn to shoot with the bow, and who with their arrows strive to hit a ball which for that end is placed on the top of the tree."[1]

The caravansarai mentioned above by Thevenot is the imposing building, adjoining the eastern gate of the Bhadra at Ahmadabad, which was built in 1637 by Azam Khan, the great viceroy of Gujarat under Shah Jahan, who governed the province from 1636-42, and who also built the forts of Ranpur near Dhandhuka and of Kali near Ahmadabad to prevent the incursions of the Kathis and the Kolis. The caravansarai has long been wrongly known as Azam Khan's palace. The building has been put to various uses during the last one hundred years, being at one time the principal gaol of the city before the construction of the Sabarmati Central Prison, and subsequently the head post office of the city until the latter was removed to a new building in 1932.

Azam Khan's caravansarai at Ahmadabad built in 1637.

Thevenot next proceeded to the Castle (i. e. the Bhadra) 'by a very high gate which is betwixt two large towers.' The Castle, he says, was walled about with freestone and was as spacious as a little town. He also refers to the royal palace[2] near the Maidan with its usual balcony for the musicians (*naqarkhana*) who played their pipes, trumpets and hautboys,[3] morning, noon, and evening, and at midnight. The royal apartments contained 'several ornaments of foliages where gold is not spared.' As for the English factory in the city we are told that it was in the middle of the town and was 'well lodged with fair courts.'

The Bhadra fortress and the royal palace.

The Bhadra citadel, referred to by our traveller, is the name by which the extensive walled enclosure within the city-walls of Ahmadabad to the west has been called for the past five hundred years. It

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 9.

Cf.. An account of the Maidan Shah, or Royal Square, at Ahmadabad by another traveller, J. Albert de Mandelslo, who visited the city in 1638, some 28 years before Thevenot. (Commissariat, M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, p. 22.)

2. All traces of the royal palace at Ahmadabad, where the Sultans and later the Mughal viceroys of the province resided, have now disappeared. There is little doubt that it was situated within the Bhadra enclosure by the side of the river.

3. Hautboy or hoboy (now Oboe) is a high-pitched wooden wind instrument in music.

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was built by Sultan Ahmad I. after the founding of the city and formed the royal headquarters, containing the palace, the two towers, the private masjid in the s. w. corner, and the military equipment. The citadel was so named after the Bhadra at the old city of Patan in North Gujarat which was the Hindu capital of the province for centuries and the headquarters of the Muslim governors of the Khalji and Tughlaq Emperors before the building of Ahmadabad in 1411. The citadel at Patan was dedicated to Bhadra Kali, the goddess Kali in her auspicious form.[1] The citadel at Ahmadabad was square in form, enclosing an area of about forty-three acres and containing about eight gates. To the west, along the river bank, it rested on the outer city-wall, and on the remaining three sides it was surrounded by high brick walls. The principal gateway to this royal enclosure was on the east just in front of the two towers.[2] Till about fifteen years ago, the Bhadra walls were kept in good repair; but, during recent years, they have been demolished in part for utilitarian purposes, *e. g.* opposite the Reform Club and near the District Court.

History of the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad.

Mandelslo's account of his stay at Ahmadabad in 1638 is of special importance to the historian for the light it throws on the commercial greatness of the city and the social life of the provincial governor with whom this German traveller had two famous interviews.[3] The long account of the capital of Gujarat by Thevenot is valuable for a different reason, viz. the fullness and accuracy of his description of the principal monuments of the city and its suburbs during the seventeenth century, which is not available to us from any other sources. During his short stay at Ahmadabad he visited practically all the places of interest; and, with slight errors which are inevitable in a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with the past history of these monuments, his descriptions are wonderfully accurate and graphic.

Mandelslo's account compared with Thevenot's.

It is not proposed to give here the details supplied by Thevenot about several of these monuments, as these will be found in several chapters of the author's forthcoming History of Gujarat. He has much that is new and interesting to say about the great temple of Shantidas and how it was desecrated by Prince Aurangzeb and converted into a mosque. He also gives an interesting account of his visit to the Shahi Bagh with its lovely and well laid out gardens and symmetrical

Descriptions of the monuments at Ahmadabad.

1. *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, p. 6.
2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, p. 275.
3. A full account of his stay at Ahmadabad will be found in Commissariat M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, Chapters III and IV, pp. 21-40.

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walks before they began to fall into neglect and desolation. Among other monuments described by him in detail are the Jami Masjid, the Rauzas and mosque at Shah Alam with their appurtenances, the Tomb of Darya Khan on the road to the Shahi Bagh, the buildings at Sarkhej, and the beautiful step-well built by Bai Harir at Asarva.[1]

Hospitals for birds and beasts: tame panthers.

Our French traveller mentions the existence of the unusual institution of an hospital for birds at Ahmadabad in which the Hindus kept all the sick birds that they could find. There was another hospital for beasts, and Thevenot saw there several oxen, camels, horses and other wounded animals 'which were purchased from the Muslims and the Christians in order to save them from cruelties and these were well fed and looked after'. If they were incurable they remained in the hospital; but if they recovered they were sold only to Gentiles (Hindus) and to none else. Another fact noticed by our author was the capture, in the neighbouring forests, of panthers which were afterwards trained by the orders of the Governor for hunting so that he might present them to the King. The Governor would not permit any one but himself to buy these animals and the trainers used to keep them in the Maidan Shah where they were petted and made familiar with human beings.[2]

Ovington's account of an hospital for bugs and flees, etc.

The *pinjrapol*, or hospital (asylum) for animals and birds, though a very ancient institution in India, is specially prominent in the larger cities of Gujarat, such as Ahmadabad, Surat, Cambay, etc., because of the considerable Jain population in this province which is specially attached to the doctrine of *ahimsa* and the sanctity of all animal life. J. Ovington, who was at Surat as Chaplain to the English factory in 1690, informs us that the Banyas of the town not only maintained old or diseased animals such as horses, cows, goats and dogs, but extended their tender sympathy to the vermin as well. His account, given in his *Voyage to Surat*, is as hair-raising as it is accurate:

> 'Near this hospital (for beasts) is another built for the preservation of bugs, fleas, and other vermin, which suck the blood of

1. This famous 'wav' or step-well at Asarwa, outside the walls of Ahmadabad (which ranks in beauty of ornamentation next to that at the village of Adalaj, about twelve miles north of the city) was built, as its inscriptions show, in 1499-1500 by Bai Shri Harir Sultani, the Lady Superintendent of the zanana of Sultan Mahmud I. Begada. She also built the mosque adjoining the well and founded a suburb called Harirpur in the vicinity. In popular language the step-well is known, quite wrongly, as Dada Hari's, both the words 'Bai' and 'Harir' having been corrupted into this misleading combination. (See Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, pp. 4-6.)

2. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 11.

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men; and, therefore, to maintain these with that choice diet to which they are used, and to feed them with their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to rest all night upon the cot or bed where the vermin are put, and fastened upon it, lest the stinging of them might force him to take his flight before the morning; and so they nourish themselves by sucking his blood and feeding on his carcass.'[1]

The Banyas of Surat were, to use the words of Dr. John Fryer, 'more merciful to beasts than men!'[2]

Articles of trade at Ahmadabad.

The principal commodities bought and sold at Ahmadabad were satins, velvets, taffetas, and tapestries with gold, silk and woollen grounds. The exports consisted of large quantities of indigo, dried and preserved ginger, sugar, cumin, lac, myrabolams, tamarind, opium, saltpetre and honey. The Dutch at Ahmadabad traded chiefly in chintz or painted cloths, though these were not so fine as those of Masulipatam and St. Thomas on the East Coast.[3] Having done with the sights of Ahmadabad, Thevenot took leave of his hosts, the Dutch factors, who secured for him the help of an officer of the Kotwal to see him safely out at the gates. On the 16th February 1666, our traveller departed for Cambay, and, after visiting Bareja, took the same route by which he had come. On reaching Sojitra[4] he turned to the right in the direction of Cambay, which town, he says, was two days' easy journey from the capital.

Cambay described.

Cambay town is described as being of the size of Surat but not nearly so populous. It was surrounded by brick walls and its streets were large, all of them terminating at the gates which were closed at night-time. The shops were stocked with aromatic perfumes and spices as also silk and other stuffs. Ivory bracelets, as well as cups, chaplets and rings of agate, were made in vast quantities in the town. These agates were obtained from the quarries at a village called Limodra. The Castle where the governor lived was large 'but not at all handsome.' The suburbs were adorned with a large number of fine public gardens, and they were almost as extensive as the town and indigo was made there. The sea was about a mile and a half away from the town, though

1. J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Oxford, 1929, pp. 177-78.
2. J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Ed. by W. Crooke, (Hakluyt Society), Vol. I, 138.
3. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 12.
4. Sojitra is a town in the Petlad *Taluka* of the Baroda State.

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formerly it came up to it. This fact had reduced the trade of the place as large ships could not come nearer than six or eight *kos* from it. The tides in the Gulf were so swift that a man on horseback at full speed could not keep pace with the first waves.[1]

Sea and land routes from Cambay to Surat.

Thevenot says that before leaving Cambay for Surat he consulted his friends about the various routes by sea and land. That by sea was the shortest and one could reach Surat in twenty-four hours in an almadie,[2] which is described as 'a kind of brigantine used by the Portuguese for trading along that coast.' But these little vessels went generally at night-time for fear of the Malabar pirates who always lay in wait for them to surprise them. Besides, many of these almadies were often lost in the gulf of Cambay owing to the high tides. There was also another way to proceed to Surat, viz., to cross the gulf at low water in a 'chariot' or carriage to the opposite coast.[3] This, however, meant a journey of about six *kos* in water which was there about two or three feet deep. Our traveller was told that the waves sometimes dashed against the chariot so roughly that it required a great many hands to keep it steady, and some mischance always happened. This decided Thevenot against taking the sea-route and he preferred to make the usual journey by land in spite of the danger from robbers of which he was assured.[4]

Thevenot's account of the tribe of *Chārans* in Gujarat.

Thevenot was now advised by his friends to protect himself against the robbers who infested the journey overland to Surat by engaging the services of one of the tribe known as *Chārans*,[5] along with a woman of the same caste, who would serve him for two rupees a day until he was out of the danger zone. The Frenchman, however, declined to do so, 'looking upon it to be too low a kind of protection.'

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Almadia, or Almadie, is a word introduced into Portuguese from the Moorish Arabic *al maḥia*, a raft. It is generally used by writers on India for a canoe or a small native boat (*Hobson-Jobson*).

3. On the coast opposite to Cambay, on the left bank of the Mahi river stands the small town of Kāvi, in the Jambusar sub-division of the Broach district. The buildings of Kavi may be seen from Cambay town on any day when the weather is clear. Kavi is a place of Jain pilgrimage.

4. Thevenot's *Travels*, op. cit., p. 13.

5. A very elaborate account of the history and pursuits of the Charan community, and of the sacrosanct character enjoyed by its members in Gujarat in past centuries, is given in an Appendix at the close of this chapter. The Charans are mentioned by several of the European travellers in this province, but the short account of the Bhāts, who served as guides to Sīdī Alī Rais (the famous Turkish admiral and author who was stranded on the Gujarat coast in 1554) is of particular value as coming from the pen of a Muslim traveller of the 16th century (See *Travels and Adventures of Sīdī Alī Reis*, trans. by Vambery, Luzac, 1899, pp. 34-35.)

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In describing this once famous and still surviving fraternity, Thevenot says that they were highly esteemed 'among the idolaters' and that they lived for the most part at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadabad. A traveller who had a *Chāran* with him thought himself safe, because the latter would inform any robbers they met to the effect that the person was under his charge and that if they did him any harm he (the *Chāran*) would cut his own throat. At the same time, the woman with him would threaten them that she would likewise cut off one of her breasts with a razor which she would show them. Thevenot goes on to add :

> 'And all the heathen of those places look upon it to be a great misfortune to be the cause of the death of a *Charan* because ever after the guilty person is an eyesore to the whole tribe ; he is turned out of it and for his whole lifetime after upbraided with the death of that gentile. Heretofore, some Charans, both men and women, have killed themselves upon such occasions ; but that has not been for a long time, and at present, they say, they compound with the robbers for a certain sum which the traveller gives them, and that many times they divide it with them.'[1]

A *garasa* 'Robin Hood' on the Mahi.

At the passage of the Mahi river, Thevenot gave half a rupee as toll to the *garasias*, whose Raja or Chieftain, he says, controlled all the villages from Cambay to Broach, and who, in return for this impost, undertook to be responsible for the safety of the travellers within his territories. In fact, this *garasia* 'Robin Hood' was so much of a gentleman that he was most particular about restoring to its owner any property taken by the bandits, and even went so far as to have it delivered to the complainant at his place if the latter had no time to wait for the result of his investigations. We are also told that this Chief received ten rupees per head from the caravans which went by his capital and in return treated the whole cavalcade gratis by providing it with cooks, provisions, etc., and even giving it the entertainment of women dancers. His horsemen accompanied the caravan for its security until it was out of his jurisdiction.[2]

Thevenot's later journeys and his death in North Persia in 1667.

On his return to Surat from this brief tour in Gujarat, Thevenot undertook a longer journey through the provinces of the Deccan to the south of India, proceeding as far as Masulipatam by way of Golkonda. His details of these countries are thus based on his personal observation, though the same cannot be said of the detailed account of the Mughal provinces of Northern India which he gives in his *Travels* and the information about which is necessarily second-hand. After comple-

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1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 13-14.
2. Ibid., 14.

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ting this tour to the south, Thevenot returned to Surat in the last days of the year 1666. Resting here for a time, he secured a passage for Bandar Abbas, and left the shores of India for Persia in February 1667, after a stay of about thirteen months in this country. Near Shiraz, in Persia, he was accidentally wounded in the thigh by a shot from one of his pistols. He spent the summer months at the great city of Isfahan, where his wound was treated and healed. Continuing his journey to the north, by way of the town of Qum, he took ill on the way and died at a small place called Miana about a hundred miles from Tabriz (Tauris) on the 28th November 1667, at the early age of 34 years.

Thevenot's wide scholarship and his character.

We now take leave of the work of this accomplished traveller whose career was cut off when he was in the prime of life. We have already referred to his proficiency in various Oriental languages. But this was not all, for he attained to great knowledge in natural philosophy, geometry, astronomy and mathematics, being specially familiar with the philosophy of Descartes. But with all this vast learning his zeal for religion was sincere, and his piety and the excellence of his conduct have been praised by all those who came in contact with him during his travels. His patience was such as no accident could disturb. His conversation was easy and unaffected and he always showed great reserve in discoursing on the subject of his journeys. But when he could be prevailed upon to speak on the subject, he did so in so natural and simple a manner as to leave the audience convinced of his veracity. His writings bear the impress of truth.[1]

His attainments in Botany.

But while M. de Thevenot was proficient in all the natural sciences, he appears to have specially excelled in the study of Botany, for he left behind him at his death no less than five volumes of what in botanical language is called a *Hortus Siccus*, being a collection of the plants, leaves, flowers, and even pods of all the plants and trees which he met with in the Indies. Each specimen was neatly pasted and on the opposite side was its name in Portuguese, Persian, and several Indian languages, with an exact scientific description of the same, the place where it was found, when it flowered or bore fruit, and its qualities, if any were known. This unique collection appears to have long remained moulding at the bottom of a trunk and ultimately perished for lack of both time and resources at the command of the person to whose care it was entrusted by the departed traveller.[2]

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1. M. de Thevenot's *Travels in the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, *Preface*.
2. Ibid.

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It has been said that unlike Sir John Chardin, another Eastern traveller of the seventeenth century, Thevenot saw only the outside of Indian life. Though this is true, and though, partly because of his reserve and his early death, he never enjoyed the popularity granted to the 'chatty' Tavernier or the 'philosophic' Bernier, his *Travels* deserve to be more widely read and esteemed to-day because of their scientific accuracy and patient investigation of the truth which make them particularly valuable to the exact student of history.

APPENDIX

THE CHĀRANS OF GUJARAT.

The Chārans, who are to be found all over Gujarat, Cutch, Kathiawar and Sind, form one of the most interesting tribes or castes in the Bombay Presidency, numbering, according to the census of 1901, 32,852 souls. We give below extracts from a very elaborate account of their past history, power and occupations in the volume of the Bombay Gazetteer dealing with the Gujarat Population :—

'The Chārans are a community allied to the Bhāts or Bārots (Bards) and they are spread over Kathiawar, Cutch and North and Central Gujarat. Of the four divisions among the Gujarat Chārans, viz., Gurjars, Kachhelas, Marus (in Marwar) and Tumers, the second section is the largest. The Kachhelas are closely allied to the Kathis, who in Kathiawar are their chief patrons, and to the Ahirs whose dialect closely resembles their own. The Chārans, both men and women, are a tall, good-looking, fair-skinned race. The men are like Rajputs, tall and well made. Chāran women are allowed much freedom, and, in former times, observed the practice of going in a body outside the village to meet and escort distinguished visitors. Several of the most popular goddesses of Northern Gujarat, e. g., Shri Bahucharaji in the Chunwal and Kalika Mata at Pavagadh, are the spirits of Chāran women who sacrificed themselves to guard the privileges of their caste. Chārans follow various callings: some are bards who maintain the genealogies of Kathis and Rajputs, recite their praises and the exploits of their forefathers; some hold large grants of lands; some are husbandmen, traders, etc. Most of them, especially among the Kachhelas, are graziers, cattle-sellers and pack-carriers, and they move about in groups of

The main divisions of the Gujarat Chārans.

Their various occupations.

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about twenty during the eight fair weather months grazing and selling their stock of cows, buffaloes, bullocks, camels, etc.

The Charans as guides: their sacrosanct character.

'In former times, like Bhāts, they acted as guards to travellers and goods. No traveller could journey unattended by these guards who were willing for a small sum to conduct him in safety. These guards, called *valāvās*, were never backward in inflicting the most grievous wounds upon and even causing the death of their old men and women if the robbers persisted in plundering those under their protection; but this seldom happened as the wildest Koli, Kathi or Rajput held the person of a Charan sacred. Besides this, the Charans used to stand security to the amount of many lakhs of rupees. When rents and property were concerned, the Rajputs preferred a Charan's bond to that of the wealthiest banker, for the Charan can enforce the payment of a debt to himself or a claim for which he had become security by cutting or killing himself. The ordinary *traga* or sacrifice went no further than a cut on the arm with the *katar* or crease. The Charans, both men and women, wounded themselves, committed suicide and murdered their relations with the most complete self-devotion. The guardian-stones or paliyas, which are scattered all over Kathiawar, show that Charans preferred death to dishonour and that even women did not hesitate to kill themselves when the honour of the family or tribe was concerned.

A *traga* or sacrifice by Charans in Broach district, 1812.

'Mr. Ovans, Survey Officer in Broach in 1820, gives the details of a *traga* which took place in 1812 when a body of Maratha troops tried to impose a revenue payment on the village of Panchpipla in the Vagra sub-division of Broach. The Charans resisted the demand as contrary to their occupations and principles, but finding the Marathas determined to carry their point, they at last cut the throats of ten young children and threw them at the feet of the invaders, exclaiming, 'These are our riches and the only payment we can make.' They were seized and confined in irons at Jambusar by the British.

Why was a Charan's death or curse considered so dreadful?

'As with the Bhat and the Brahman, the source of the Charan's power lay in the wide-spread fear that a Charan's blood brought widespread ruin on him who caused the blood to be spilt. This was based on the belief that the ghost of a Charan was specially terrible. It was in this way that the female Charan suicide Bahuchara became one of the most dreaded, and, therefore, one of the most popular goddesses in North Gujarat. Probably the main and original reason for the belief that the Charan was 'possessed' was the reckless daring with

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which, as the *paliyas* show, both men and women threw their lives away in defence of the cattle and villages entrusted to their charge. This respect for his ready self-sacrifice was the chief element in the honour paid to a Charan. Besides this inspired-courage the Charan enjoyed the two great god-gifts of cursing and song. All three combined seemed sufficient proof of the Charan's right to the name of *devputra* or sons of god. It was the belief that the Charan was 'possessed' that gave special power to his curse or his blessing, and it was this that made the murder of a Charan the letting loose of the enraged unhoused spirit of a god or a goddess as well as of a man. As the worship of Bahuchara shows, the fear was greatest in the case of a suicide Charan.

Sir J. Malcolm's account of the Charan guide's procedure.

'According to Sir John Malcolm, the Charan who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajput robbers, when he sees the robbers approach, warns them off by holding a dagger in his hand, and, if they do not attend to him, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woe and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the wounds are repeated; and in extreme cases one of the Charan's relations, commonly a female child or an old woman, is made a sacrifice (*Central India*, II, 134-35.) Further on (p. 137), Sir J. Malcolm says: 'I collected a number of well authenticated cases not only of individuals but of families; and in two instances I found that the Charan inhabitants of a village had sacrificed themselves. On one occasion there was a string of four people with one spear through their necks.'

The Charans as court bards: their present position.

'How did the rough cattle-guarding Charan become a court poet? The present difference in appearance between the ordinary Charan grazier and the Rajput chief's Charan bard and reciter is so great as to raise the question. The fact, however, is that among the courtly high-class reciters are families who belong to all the main divisions of village Charans—Gurjars, Kachhelas, Marus and Tumers. This proves that the court reciters are not a distinct class but are descended from Charans whose talents or good looks raised them to the favour of the local chiefs, and their present special appearance is due to their having for generations married almost entirely with Charan families who like themselves have long enjoyed the easy well-nourished life of court bards and reciters..... Though aided by their gifts of paralysing their chief's enemies with their curse, and of inspiring their chief's troops with their song, the Charans probably mainly owed their success to their unflinching readiness for martyrdom. Under British rule the need for securities has ceased

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and with it the special respect and sacredness of the Charan have passed away. Railways have slain the pack-bullock and the spread of tillage has scrimped the grazing grounds. Of those who were carriers, some have settled as petty traders and money-lenders and others have taken to agriculture. Though their sacrosanct character has gone, Charans still hold a high social position.' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, Gujarat Population: Hindus, pp. 214-20).

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PART IV—GLIMPSES OF GUJARAT IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

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striped cloth used formerly to be manufactured but that at this time were being given up. The order, therefore, enjoins the Prince to take proper measures to produce successfully such cloth in his province.[1]

Decline of religious toleration in the Mughal Empire.

The toleration extended by the great Akbar to his Hindu subjects, and continued by Jahangir, was largely the result of religious eclecticism, indifference and free-thinking. Partly also was it due to the powerful influence of the harem where Rajput wives enjoyed considerable favour and prestige. From the time of Shah Jahan, however, we see a distinct change in this attitude, and the attacks against Hindu temples and religious customs which began during his reign culminated in the reign of Aurangzeb. The idea of religious toleration was alien to the spirit of the times, in the East as in the West, for it prevented that intimate approximation between Church and State which was considered to be vital and necessary. If it was the ambition of Joseph II of Austria to make Philosophy the legislator of his Empire, it was equally the policy of Aurangzeb to make the Religion of the Quran the basis of his administration; and he pursued his policy to root out Muslim heresy as also Hindu 'unbelief' and 'idol-worship' with a tenacity which was undeterred by any opposition or political consequences.

Value of the *Farmans* in the *Mirat i-Ahmadi*.

With these general remarks we shall approach the subject of Aurangzeb's domestic administration in Gujarat. Though the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Ali Muhammad Khan (the last Diwan of the Empire in Gujarat), which is our foremost Persian authority for the history of the province under Mughal rule, was written nearly half a century after the death of Aurangzeb, it contains the full text of more than a dozen Imperial *farmans* directed to the officers of the Subah during this long reign. These *farmans* are of the utmost value to the student of Indian History for the knowledge of the administrative system of the Mughal Empire. Several of them are common to all the provinces of the Empire, but there are a few which have special reference to the conditions of our province and are thus of interest and importance to us in our study. One of the farmans of the latter category, dated 20th November 1665, is a long document containing nearly thirty-six clauses, the majority of which describe and prohibit a very large number of illegal imposts (*abwabs*) which were levied by the officials of the province of Gujarat in spite of royal instructions to the contrary. All this is greatly to the credit of Aurangzeb as these *abwabs* must no doubt have proved extremely burdensome to the population both of the towns and of the rural areas in their daily occupations. But we must also turn to some information of a different character bearing on the Emperor's social

Aurangzeb's great *farman* of 1665.

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, Pd. by Nawab Ali, I, 352.

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and religious policy in Gujarat which is made available to us in this valuable document.

One set of these regulations is directed against some of the social practices and religious festivities of the Hindu population of Gujarat.

His attitude towards the *Diwali* and the *Holi* festivals.

On the days of the *pancham*, the *amwās* and the *ekadashi*, says the imperial edict, the Hindus are in the habit of closing their shops. The officers are, therefore, enjoined to arrange that these shops should always be kept open so that the business of buying and selling might continue undisturbed. Another clause goes on to say that the Hindus of the province, 'giving currency to false customs,' both in the city and in the parganas of Ahmadabad, light lamps on the Diwali night. Moreover, on the days of the *Holi* festival, 'they open their tongue with foul speech,' and light the *Holi* fire in every *chakla* and bazaar, and throw into the flames the stick of any person which they can secure either by trick or by violence. The officers of the province, are, therefore, instructed to see that the Hindu population did not illuminate the bazaars on the night of the Diwali, and also to prevent sticks being wrested from people to be thrown into the flames of the *Holi* fire, and above all to put a stop to the use of *abusive or filthy language during the latter festival.*[1]

Some comments on these imperial regulations will not be out of place. It is not clear whether the injunction against the closing

Comments on the closing of the Hindu shops.

of their shops by the Hindus on the *amwas* and the *ekadashi* days was prompted by religious reasons. It is quite possible that the only object of the edict was to prevent frequent and unnecessary dislocation of business caused by these socio-religious practices. Whatever the motive behind them, the orders could not have been actively enforced, and even to this day the practice among Hindu tradesmen of closing their shops on certain days every month, which are considered to be inauspicious, continues to prevail, and illustrates the practical limitations imposed by immemorial customs on the sovereign power, especially in Oriental states.

Equally far is it from being clear that there was a religious motive behind the orders issued by the Emperor against the *Diwali* illuminations in Gujarat. There is no doubt that the Hindu popu-

and on the prohibition of the *Diwali* illuminations.

lation must have been greatly aggrieved at the efforts to prevent their time-honoured methods of rejoicing at their New Year festivities. The pure tenets of Islam do not enjoin any such action by the ruler of a Muslim state over non-Muslim subjects, and Aurangzeb could

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian Text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, 260-1.

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not possibly have based his order on Quranic law or tradition As regards the prohibition of violence and unseemly or indecent language at the Bacchanalian festival of the *Holi*, which is principally celebrated by the lower classes, the imperial regulations call for no adverse criticism. On the contrary, the policy of the Emperor has been followed by every civilised administration that has held sway in India.

and of the orgies at the *Holi* festival.

For another instance of the prohibition of the cherished social and religious festivals of the Hindu population of Gujarat by their Muslim rulers we must go to about a hundred years before the time of Aurangzeb when the Sultans of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty held sway in the province. It was in the later days of this Sultanate, when the throne was occupied by the weak prince Mahmud III (1537-54), that we find the Hindus subjected not only to a prohibition of their festivities but to an active and unrelenting persecution. In order to understand what follows it may be mentioned that, since the time of Sultan Ahmad Shah I, a fourth part of all land in Gujarat had been held by the Rajput *garasias*[1] under the name of *wanta* estates. On the evil advice of his vazir Asaf Khan, Sultan Mahmud III began, some time after 1545, to resume these *Garas* jagirs. This unscrupulous invasion of the sacred rights of property roused a general opposition and the *garasias* of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Bansvara, Lunavada, Rajpipla and the banks of the Mahi raised insurrections. The Sultan strengthened the frontier posts and put them down. 'In a short time', says the historian, 'neither name nor sign of Koli or Rajput remained in the country, except those that actually worked at the plough; and these too were known by being branded on the right arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand-mark he was killed.'[2]

Sultan Mahmud III's persecution of the Hindus, 1545.

This bitter persecution, during the period of the Sultanate, of the Rajput landholders throughout the rural districts of Gujarat appears to have been accompanied by an equally ruthless body of regulations against the subject population in the towns. What happened may best be given in the

Hindu festivals and temple-worship proscribed.

1. The word grasia or garasia and *gras* are among the commonest terms in Gujarat and Kathiawar in connection with land revenue administration. The term *gras* is said to mean 'a mouthful' and thence to signify subsistence or maintenance. It was a portion of land given as a share to cadets of a ruling chief. It later came in the 18th century to indicate the black-mail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of protection. "Thus the title of grasia," says the author of the *Ras Mala*, "originally an honourable one, indicating its possessor to be the cadet of a ruling tribe, became at last as frequently a term of opprobrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber, 'a soldier of the night'." (A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, Vol. II, 275.)

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2. Fazlullah, *Mirat i-Sikandari*, 239.

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words of the historian Sikandar *bin* Muhammad *alias* Manjhu, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, which is our foremost authority for the history of the Gujarat Saltanat :

"The laws and precepts of Islam were so strongly enforced in the time of this Sultan that no Hindu could ride on horse-back in the city. The dress of a Hindu was not complete without his binding a piece of red cloth round his sleeve. Hindu usages and customs, like the obscene rites of the *Holi*, the evil ceremonies of the *Diwali*, and the worship of idols could not be practised openly. After the martyrdom of the Sultan (in 1554) the *grasias* got hewed out of stone the image of the vile Burhan, the Sultan's murderer, and setting it up as a guardian deity, began to pay it divine worship, saying, 'This is our saviour who has saved us from destruction and starvation. For, had the conditions under which we were living lasted one year more, hunger and privation would have given our lives to the winds of destruction'."[1]

The origin of the *wanta* estates of Gujarat under Sultan Ahmad I.

Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, makes the following important reference to the origin of the *wanta* estates of Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah I (1411-42) in the fifteenth century :

"The whole of the zamindars in the time of Sultan Ahmad Gujarati erected the head of rebellion and disturbance. They were, however, punished and driven from their retreats. In consequence of being thus completely dispossessed of their habitations, that band of unbelievers, being hopeless, began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations. Anarchy increased and the decay of cultivation became visible. Those whose duty it was to advise, in their foresight put an end to these calamities, and exacted from the zamindar of every village security to discontinue his opposition. Three parts of the land of each village, under the denomination of *tulput*, were acknowledged as the property of the king, and one portion was given to the zamindars, under the denomination of *wanta*, and they were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own villages and were to hold themselves in readiness for the service of the king whenever called upon. They attended to make their submission and engaged to pay the crown a salami from their *wanta*; from this time salami and peshkash became established against them."[2]

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 239.
2. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, II, 270-71. See also *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 193.

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Returning to the subject of Aurangzeb's administration, we find that, according to the Muslim Sunni tradition, it is unlawful for a Muhammadan to have any graven image or picture or drawing in his house, and Aurangzeb appears to have enforced this prohibition to the fullest extent. The *farman* of 1665 draws the attention of the provincial officers to the fact that some of the workers in pottery made images of animate beings, and that on the festivals of the *'Id* and the *Shab-i-Barat*, and on the days of the *'Urs*, they sold in the bazaars horses and elephants made of clay. The royal officers were ordered to see to it that such clay images of animate beings were prohibited.[1]

The Emperor prohibits clay images.

If the Emperor adopted a policy of such puritanical repression towards the social practices of the Hindus of this province, he was not likely to be more indulgent towards their religion and its worship. One section of the great Imperial *farman* of 1665 is of special interest as it lays down the Imperial policy with regard to the Hindu temples. It says that, before the exalted accession to the throne, idol-temples had been pulled down by royal orders at Ahmadabad and in the parganas of Gujarat, but that these had been rebuilt and idols installed therein and worshipped. The officials of the Subah are, therefore, instructed to ascertain the true facts and to act in accordance with the orders issued on the subject.[2] Though Aurangzeb did not originate the policy of suppressing idol-worship in Gujarat as well as in the other provinces of the Empire, it cannot be denied that, owing to his great attachment to the 'traditions' of Islam, he intensified this policy and put it into more active operation.

Imperial policy with regard to Hindu temples.

It has already been seen that, long before his accession to the throne, when he was Viceroy of Gujarat under his father in 1645, Aurangzeb had ordered the great Jain temple of Chintamani, built at Ahmadabad by Shantidas, to be desecrated and converted into a mosque, which was given the title of *Quvvat-ul-Islam*. After his coming to the throne we do not hear of any similar episode in Gujarat until the 38th year of his reign, when, in 1693–94, the viceroy Shujaat Khan received orders that the Hindu temple at Vadnagar, probably the great shrine of Hatkeshwar Mahadev, should be pulled down. Instructions were accordingly sent by the Subahdar to Muhammad Mubariz Babi, the fauzdar, to demolish this temple.[3] Ten more years passed away and in 1702–3, when the aged Emperor was in his 84th year, an order came from the court to say that the temple of Somnath, 'situated in Sorath on the

Demolition of the temples at Vadnagar and Somnath.

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op. cit. I, 262.
2. Ibid., I, 259, 261.
3. Ibid., I, 328.

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shores of the sea', had been destroyed very early during the reign and idol-worship had discontinued, but that it was not known how matters stood at the date of the order and information about the exact situation was asked for. If it was found that the Hindus had revived idol-worship there, the temple was to be demolished in such a manner that no vestige of it should remain.[1]

Hoary antiquity of the town of Vadnagar.

Vadnagar was in the Muslim period situated in the pargana of the same name in the *sarkar* or district of Pātan in North Gujarat. It is now a town in the Kheralu *taluka* of the Kadi *prant* in the Baroda State, situated 8 miles north-east of Viśnagar. The town is of hoary antiquity and probably occupies the site of the city of Anandpur, the original home of the Nāgar Brahmins, though few reside there now. The walls of the town, according to an inscription, were built by Kumar Pal in 1152. Vadnagar, though long on the decline, is still a picturesque place and the view from the railway showing the lofty walls, with the houses perched above on rising ground, is specially fine. The temple of Hātkeshwar Mahadev, held in great reverence by the Nagar Brahmans, lies to the west of the town.[2] According to the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* there were in ancient times 300 temples scattered throughout the city of Vadnagar, and it was thus literally a city of temples. He goes on to add: 'Vadnagar is inhabited by wealthy Hindus, who are millionaire bankers, so much so that it has been said of Gujarat that it had two golden wings—one the town of Umreth and the other Vadnagar. Alas! these wings are now broken, and the city of Vadnagar suffered most.'[3]

The town called one of the 'golden wings' of Gujarat

Aurangzeb, it is well known, cordially disliked the Bohra sect of Muslims at Ahmadabad and other towns of Gujarat as schismatics. Hence we find him declaring that in the mosques of the 'irreligious Bohras' the Sunni imams and muezzins should continue to be appointed as before and these should recite the five daily prayers in accordance with the Sunni practice.[4] In 1703-4, it was reported to the Emperor that two Bohras of the Ismailia sect, named Isa and Taj, who were cotton sellers, were obtaining money by intimidation and spreading heretical doctrines among the people. On receipt of the royal orders, Prince Muhammad Azam, then viceroy of Gujarat, put them under custody and subsequently released them on their furnishing a

The Bohra sect in Gujarat persecuted.

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 253; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 320.
2. Imperial Gazetteer, XXIV, 292-3.
3. Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 171-72.
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 263.

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written bond for good behaviour. But, later, Shaikh Akram-ud-din, the *Sadr*[1] of Ahmadabad, represented to Aurangzeb through Shaikh Nur-al-Haqq that these two Bohras, in spite of their written guarantee to the Prince, were still misleading the people, and that if he would receive secret orders from the Emperor, they would be arrested and sent to the court. These orders having arrived action was immediately taken thereupon.

Mulla Khanji and his companions arrested with their religious books.

Shortly afterwards, it was reported to the Emperor that one Khanji, the successor of Qutb, and the leader of the Ismailia Bohras, along with twelve missionaries, was misleading the people and spreading false doctrines, and that they had arrived at Ahmadabad and their disciples had collected a sum of 1,14,000 rupees for the purpose of securing the release of the imprisoned persons, and that this amount was still in their possession unspent and they had besides about sixty religious books. Orders were sent from the court to the Diwan of the Subah that, after consultation with Abul Farah, the Qazi, this Mulla Khanji, as also all the persons whose names were separately mentioned, should be quickly arrested and sent to court along with the sum of one lakh and fourteen thousand rupees which they had collected and also all the heretical books.

Aurangzeb orders special religious instruction on Sunni lines.

But Aurangzeb did not neglect the help of educative influence to wean the Shiah Bohras from their heresy. He sent instructions to the effect that arrangements should be made whereby the illiterates among the adults and the children of Bohras should receive religious instruction on orthodox (Sunni) lines both in the capital city of Ahmadabad and in the parganas, and the cost of this education was to be borne by this community. The persons so instructed were to be examined every month and a report made to the court. A similar order was sent to Qazi Abul Farah to co-operate with the Diwan of the province.[2]

The pargana of Visalnagar renamed Rasulnagar.

We shall now mention a number of interesting politico-religious orders issued by Aurangzeb in Gujarat which are not so open to criticism but which help to illustrate the fundamentally theocratic basis of the Emperor's administrative system. In 1677-78, the twenty-first year of his accession, the Emperor sent orders to the Diwan

1. The *Sadr* was in each province a civil judge and supervisor of the lands endowed by the Emperor for the support of pious men, scholars and faqirs. It was his duty to see that such grants were properly applied. The provincial *Sadrs* were under the Chief Sadr of the Empire who was called the Sadr us Sadur. Men of high scholarship and integrity where chosen for the post of *Sadr*.

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 356, 358–9; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V. 433–34.

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of the Subah that the pargana of Visalnagar (one of the most sacred Hindu centres in North Gujarat) should thenceforth be designated Rasulnagar and that the new Islamic name should be entered in the records of the province.[1] Next year the Diwan received an order to the effect that it was against Muslim Law to inflict any monetary fines as punishment for offences and the officers under him and those in charge of crown lands should take a note of this. It was also ordained that if any of the amils or jagirdars or any other person committed an offence he should be punished by dismissal from service or imprisonment or banishment, but no fine should be imposed.[2]

Prohibition of almanacs and mimbars with more than three steps.

In 1702–3, when Prince Muhammad Azam, the eldest son of the Emperor, was Viceroy of Gujarat, orders were received in all the Subahs of the Empire to the effect that the preparing of almanacs was against religious injunctions and that a written undertaking should be taken from all astrologers to discontinue the practice. The next year (1703–4), the Imperial Prince himself took a leaf from his father's book. He noticed that the number of steps to the *mimbars* (pulpits) in the mosques at Ahmadabad, and especially those in the Jami Masjid and the Idgah, was more than the 'traditions' permitted. After consulting the Ulama on this point, he ordered the mimbars at both these places to be removed and had new ones built with only three steps, which was the number in the holy Prophet's time.[3]

Aurangzeb exacts full work from the judges.

Aurangzeb, like the Emperor Justinian and many other famous rulers of mankind, spent a large part of the day in arduous official work, whether in the camp or in the capital. He was not, therefore, likely to allow any neglect of or indifference to duty on the part of subordinate officers. At this time, reports reached him to the effect that the judges belonging to the Subah of Ahmadabad (i. e. Gujarat) sat in their courts for only two days in the week. Two more days were spent

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian Text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 293.
Visnagar (or Visalnagar) is now the headquarters town of the *taluka* of the same name in the Kadi *prant* of the Baroda State situated on a branch of the Gaikwar's State Railway from Mehsana to Kheralu.
The *Mirat-i Ahmadi* writes thus about the creation of the new pargana in Aurangzeb's reign: 'Pargana Rasulnagar or Visalnagar, 30 *kos* north of Ahmadabad. The town was founded by one of the Gujarati Rajas. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, at the request of Mulla Hasan Muhammad Gujarati, 10 villages from the Bijapur pargana and 9 from Kadi, being close to this pargana, were included in it, and it was named *Rasulnagar* by the Emperor.' (*Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 173.)
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 293.
3. Ibid., 352, 355.

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in attending the darbar of the Subahdar; and the remaining three were enjoyed as holidays. Orders were sent to the effect that neither at the imperial court nor in the other provinces was any such system in existence, and that Gujarat should not be an exception. It was thenceforth laid down that the judges should sit in their courts for five days in the week, viz., from Saturday to Tuesday and on Thursday; on Wednesday they should attend the court of the viceroy; and Friday was to be enjoyed as a holiday (as being the Islamic sabbath). Further, they should be in court from about an hour (two gharis[1]) after sunrise upto noon and decide matters brought before them for adjudication according to the law. They were free to go home after noon.[2]

1. The Emperor Jahangir says in his *Memoirs* that four *gharis* are nearly equal to two sidereal hours. According to another Persian work, five *gharis* are equal to two sidereal hours, i. e., each *ghari* is 24 minutes. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* trans. and ed by Rogers and Beveridge, II, 67 *n*)

2. Mirat i Ahmadi, I, 275. See also J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 117.

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CHAPTER XII.

FAMINE, FLOOD AND PESTILENCE IN GUJARAT DURING AURANGZEB'S REIGN

We shall now turn to review a series of natural calamities which afflicted Gujarat during the reign of Aurangzeb, and especially during the second half of it, which must have seriously retarded the economic progress and prosperity of the province. In fact, Gujarat was fast losing, in consequence of these misfortunes, the proud designation of being the Garden of India which it had acquired during the Mughal period. One of the earliest references to famines and epidemics in Gujarat during the long reign of Aurangzeb is to be found in the records of the English Factory at Surat for the year 1664 at the time when Sir George Oxinden was President of the factory. It appears that the rainy season of the year 1663 had been a complete failure in this part of Gujarat, for it was followed by famine and pestilence during the following year. We give below an extract from a letter sent by the Surat Council to their masters at home dated 'Swally Marine, 4th April 1664,' two of the four signatories to the letter being George Oxinden and Gerald Aungier :

Natural calamities in Gujarat: famine of 1664.

> 'We doubt not but to answer your expectations in the procury of your desired quantities of goods which we are now in possession of, and hope to get them timely together, the Almighty favouring us with seasonable showers; else through the drought of the last year, if it should again so happen, would utterly dispeople all these parts, it being their manner to forsake their habitations, and with their families to travel into other countries where they heard corn is cheap to preserve them from famishing; there are more than 500 families of weavers that are already fled, and the rest would certainly follow, if the famine should increase, that we shall not dare to intrust them as accustomary, and without it we may not expect any goods, but we hope the Almighty will be merciful to this land, and restore them their wonted plenty.'[1]

Account in the English Factory Records.

1. G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc., in the Bombay Secretariat*, Home Series, 1887, Vol. I, p. 37.

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By divine mercy there was no drought in the year 1664, but the drought and the scarcity described above resulted in a terrible pestilence at Surat and no doubt at other places also. In a letter sent overland to the Company on 26th November, we find a record of the heavy sickness among the members of the English factory during the epidemic that raged in this city :

Terrible pestilence at Surat, Nov. 1664.

'It hath pleased the Almighty to afflict us in general throughout the whole family with agues and fevers that we can scarce say there is a man in your house hath escaped them, but hath been violently afflicted. Among the rest, your President hath very lately escaped death, having had the symptoms thereof upon him and given over by all, but it hath pleased God somewhat to recover him ; yet still lies very weak upon his bed, not able to sit up for a dissiness in his head and a weakness in his body, that he is constrained to dictate these with some trouble ..... The passed year'(s) dearth these people affirm to be the cause of the intemperature of the air, as what always follows a scarcity of rain and corn. All the towns and villages hereabouts are full of sickness, scarce a house free, amongst which, to your prejudice, the weavers have their share; that what with many thousands of them that are fled the passed year, and the remainder now infected, hath been a great hindrance to your investments.'[1]

Sir George Oxinden at death's door during the epidemic.

If the small English colony in the Surat factory was down with epidemic fever, and if the great President Oxinden, who had saved a large part of the city from plunder by Shivaji earlier in the same year, was almost at death's door as a result of the contagion, we can form some idea of the heavy toll of life which the epidemic must have taken among the citizens of Surat. The Chaplain of the factory, Rev. John L'Escaliot, in a letter home refers to the subject and we gather that out of the twenty-five Englishmen in the factory not more than two escaped the sickness, though luckily it proved mortal to none. But among the Hindus and the Parsis of Surat the mortality was very heavy indeed. 'The Banyas' burning place,' says this Padre, 'was scarce day or night without two or three bodies frying upon their several piles, and the Persees made a continual feast for the vultures.'[2]

Heavy mortality among the Banyas and the Parsis.

1. *English Factories in India*, ed. by W. Foster, 1661-64, p. 329.
2. Ibid., 329 n.

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The period of about fifteen years between 1681 and 1696 appears to have been one of intense distress and mortality in Gujarat during which drought, famine and pestilence became almost endemic in the province. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* records nearly half a dozen famines during this short period, and, though details are lacking, we have enough information about them to realise the misery and destitution that they must have caused. One of these visitations is of special interest because of the serious bread-riots it gave rise to at Ahmadabad.

Successive famines between 1681-96

In 1681-2, as the result of failure of the rains in the preceding year, the prices of food-grains soared to such heights that the people began to complain and lament. At this time Muhammad Amin Khan[1] was Subahdar of the province. It happened that on the day of the *'Id* festival of this year, the viceroy, having performed the prayers at the Idgah[2] of Ahmadabad, was returning to the city through the main bazar where a crowd of men and women, old and young, had collected owing to the holiday. They began to make the usual complaints about the rise in prices. Taking advantage of the situation, one Shaikh Abubakr, a demagogue known for his mischievous activities, utilised the popular excitement to foment a riot. Incited by him the rabble proceeded from outcries and complaints to action and began to throw rubbish and stones at the palanquin in which the viceroy was being carried to his residence. The excitement and riot spread and it soon appeared as if the whole city would be enveloped in this conflagration. The viceroy's bodyguard was prepared to disperse the mob by arms, but Muhammad Amin Khan, realising the seriousness of the

Bread-riots at Ahmadabad in 1681-2.

1. Muhammad Amin Khan was the son of Mir Jumla, the famous diamond merchant and prime minister of Golkonda who subsequently entered the Mughal service. He was Subahdar or Viceroy of Gujarat for ten years under Aurangzeb from July 28, 1672 to June 18, 1682. He died at Ahmadabad on the last mentioned date and his mausoleum, with a masjid adjoining it, is to be found in a corner of the Bhadra citadel, adjoining the Towers. The Rauza and its connected buildings have for nearly half a century past been transformed into the residence and offices of the Executive Engineer of the Ahmadabad Division. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Pers. text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, p. 302; A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in Ahmedabad*, Bombay, 1886, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.)

2. The Idgah is the place of assembly and prayers on the occasion of the Muslim 'Id festival. It is in India usually a platform of white plastered brickwork, enclosed by a low wall on three sides, and situated outside the town or village. The old Idgah at Ahmadabad is situated outside the city-walls near the Kankaria Tank to the west of the road leading from the lake to Shah Alam. It must have been originally, during the period of Muslim rule, a fine structure. It is now quite out of use, and the disappearance of the fine chunam has exposed the brick walls which are fast falling into decay.

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situation caused by an excited mob, prevented his retainers from such an action, and managed to reach the Bhadra citadel.

When news of this riot reached the ears of the Emperor through the Subahdar and the *Waqai-navis*[1] his anger was roused and orders were sent to the former to arrest the rioters and to punish them some by death and others by imprisonment. Muhammad Amin Khan, however, decided to punish the principal leader who had for his own purposes incited the population. He, therefore, invited all the learned and holy men of Ahmadabad to a feast and among them came Shaikh Abubakr also. After all had gathered, the Subahdar called the Shaikh by his side and offered him a few slices of a poisoned melon. Immediately after he had eaten of the fatal fruit, the Shaikh began to feel uneasy and left the assembly. When the viceroy asked him where he was going so soon, the Shaikh replied, 'I am going to a house that has been prepared for me.' He died on the way before he could even reach his residence.[2]

The leader Shaikh Abubakr poisoned by the Viceroy.

The year 1684 is also memorable in the history of the city of Ahmadabad. Owing to the heavy fall of the rains there were floods in the Sabarmati river which overflowed its banks and the waters reached the Three Gates in the Maidan Shah. The walls of the city as well as those of the Bhadra enclosure were breached at several places. Mukhtar Khan,[3] the Subahdar, wrote to the court for their repairs. Orders were thereafter received by the Diwan of the province to state what expenditure had been incurred during the preceding reign when such repairs were carried out. The official records showed that, in the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reign, 1004 gold *ashrafis* were given from the treasury, and in the 29th year of the

Floods in the Sabarmati—the city and the Bhadra walls breached, 1684.

1. The *Waqa-Nais* (lit. the writer of events), or the news-reporter, was the normal agent through whom, during the Mughal period, the Central Government gathered information about the events taking place in the various parts of the Empire. There was a *waqa nais* attached to every town and province and to every field-army He had his clerks who attended the court of the Subahdar, the Diwan's office, as well as the courts and the kotwal's *chabutra* to gather daily information, and he sent news to the court regularly and publicly. The contents of his newsletter were communicated to the Subahdar of the province or to the general of the army before it was forwarded. (J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 1924, 2nd edition, pp. 71-72.)

2. *Mirat i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 300-301.

3. Mukhtar Khan succeeded Muhammad Amin Khan as Subahdar of Gujarat and governed the province from 1682 to 1685. He died at Ahmadabad on 21th April 1685 and was buried in the Rauza of Shah Alijl Kamdhani, in the Rayakhad ward. His remains were subsequently removed elsewhere. (*Mirat i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, p. 310; Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, p. 42.)

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same reign Rizvi Khan had collected 60,000 rupees from the *mahajans* of the city for this purpose. It was also reported that the estimate for the present repairs was 22,644 rupees. Imperial orders were received to the effect that this sum was to be paid from the treasury in four instalments, but that no demand was to be made from the inhabitants of the city in this matter.[1]

The Banyas of Gujarat have always shown much aptitude for combining into associations for trade and for caste purposes. The *mahajan* may be described as an association among merchants or craftsmen in towns for the purpose of securing common interests. The best English equivalent for the word appears to be 'trade-guild'. Just as in every Indian village there is a council called the *panchayat* presided over by its elders to regulate communal affairs, so in every town there are a number of *mahajans* prescribing trade-rules and settling trade disputes under the guidance of their leaders. Such *mahajans* or guilds represent not only the merchants and traders, but also the various classes of craftsmen such as the goldsmiths, the carpenters the metal-workers, the masons, the dyers, etc. The growth of the *mahajans* or associations is made all the easier if all persons following the same pursuit belong to the same caste. The membership is open to all persons engaged in a particular craft, but a special position is held by the *sheths* or leaders by hereditary right, and they with a few other persons of influence exercise governing authority within each guild.[2]

The 'Mahajans' of Gujarat.

In 1685, as the result of drought, famine conditions again prevailed, and the Shaikh-ul-Islam,[3] the Chief Qazi of the Empire, represented to the sovereign that the poor Muslims at Ahmadabad, as well as other inhabitants of the city, were in great distress owing to the rise in prices and that the duty on food-grains should therefore be remitted. Orders were accordingly issued to the Diwan of the province not to collect these

High prices and scarcity of grain, 1684–86.

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, op. cit., I, 305–6.

2. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, pp. 106–16 for an elaborate article on 'Trade-Guilds in Gujarat' by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Lely, I.C.S.

3. The Shaikh-ul Islam was the eldest son and successor of Abdul Wahhab Gujarati whom he succeeded as Chief Qazi of the Empire, a post which he held with great dignity and integrity from 1676 to 1683. He was one of the noblest characters of the day and it is no wonder that the corruption and venality which were practised by his predecessors in office were hateful to him. He sought and obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and so resigned his office at the end of 1683. On his return he lived at his ancestral town of Patan in North Gujarat until 1698 when he undertook a journey to the court at the repeated entreaties of the Emperor, but died on the way. (J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 84–86.)

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duties for one year.[1] The next year (1686), the Diwan informed the Emperor that the rains having failed again the price of grain was even higher than in the preceding year and that if the impost was levied there would be a great outcry and laments from the people. It was, therefore, ordered by the sovereign that the duties should continue to be remitted until the price of grain had gone down.[2]

State control of grain stocks and prices.

We find it recorded that in 1690–1, following upon a famine, pestilence (*waba*) broke out at Surat, Broach, Ahmadabad and other places in Gujarat, leading to heavy mortality.[3] Three years later, in 1694–5, as the price of food-grains had not yet gone down, Shujaat Khan, the viceroy, sent orders to the *mutsaddis* in all the parganas to forward a portion of the local crops to Ahmadabad to be sold in the markets there, and to prevent any engrossing of grain by the merchants. At the same time, officers were appointed for the markets (*mandis*) in the city of Ahmadabad with instructions to buy up grain and sell it to the people at a reasonable rate.[4] Though the details are not very explicit, the object of these regulations is clear, viz., to prevent the grain-dealers from storing up the food-supply on the one hand and to sell the grain to the people at a reasonable price on the other. The last reference to a famine in the reign of Aurangzeb refers to the year 1696–7, i. e., only two years after the last, when there was drought in most of the parganas of the province and especially in Marwar. 'From Patan to Jodhpur,' says the historian, 'neither water nor grass was to be seen.'[5]

The great viceroy Shujaat Khan of Gujarat.

Shujaat Khan (formerly Kartalab Khan), mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was Subahdar of Gujarat under Aurangzeb for the unprecedentedly long period of 17 years from 1685–1701. During the greater part of this period he also held, under the Emperor's orders, the post of Fauzdar or military commandant of Jodhpur in combination with the Viceroyalty of Gujarat in order to carry out more effectively the operations of the long war in Marwar against the indomitable Rajput patriot Durgadas Rathor. Shujaat Khan died at Ahmadabad on 9th July 1701. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that no governor of this province up to the time of the writing of his history in 1170 H (A. D. 1756–7) enjoyed so long a term of office and with such security and splendour as did Shujaat Khan, and he adds that the Hindu women of the province celebrated in their songs the memory of the good days of his administration.[1] The memory of this great viceroy of Gujarat is

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 309.
2. Ibid., 315.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 325.
4. Ibid., 329.
5. Ibid., 335–6.

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still commemorated at Ahmadabad by a Masjid and a Rauza which were built by him and which are situated within a large enclosure on one side of the Salapos Road. The masjid was built, according to the Persian inscription over the central mihrab, in 1107 H, corresponding to A. D. 1695–6, and resembles in style that of Sardar Khan in the Jamalpur ward. Adjoining the masjid is the *maqbara* where Shujaat Khan is buried, and the inscription on the tomb here—without indicating his name—says, 'date of the decease, Thursday, the 14th of the month Safar, in the year 1113 of the Hijra,' which corresponds to 10th July 1701.[2]

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, ed. by Nawab Ali, Pt. I, 313, 315.
2. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, 61-62.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE REVOLT OF THE MATIAS AND MOMNAS IN GUJARAT, 1685.

Origin of the Matias and the Momnas of Gujarat.

The only domestic disturbance against Imperial authority in Gujarat recorded during the long reign of Aurangzeb was the result of religious causes and was provoked by the Emperor's efforts to purify some practices which he considered to be idolatrous. The Momnas and the Matias,[1] who caused the revolt, were the descendants of Hindus of the Leva Kanbi and other castes, principally husbandmen, who were originally converted in the 15th century to the Shiah form of Islam by one Saiyed Imamshah, a religious recluse who came from Persia and settled down near the village Giramtha (now called Pirana), some nine miles south of Ahmadabad. It was among the Matia Kanbis of the Khandesh and Baglan districts that the insurrection first broke out. Though successful for a time, it was easily crushed when confronted by a trained army sent by the provincial viceroy. But while it lasted it caused considerable panic among the officials, and it showed what large numbers of otherwise pacific cultivators could achieve when goaded to frenzy by religious grievances.

The Pirana saints and their *murids*.

An interesting account of the practices of these Matias and Momnas in the 17th century is given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. We are told they had such faith in their religious guides and leaders that they handed over to them a tenth part of their annual income. The payment of this tithe was carried to such an extent that if a man had ten children he would present one of them to the Saiyed as a disciple or pay the latter a money equivalent for the child. The Pirana saints, whose headquarters were at the village of Giramtha near Ahmadabad, thus came to look upon their *murids* or spiritual followers as a great source of income and they enjoyed in consequence a large measure of luxury and ease. These disciples were distributed among the descendants of the saints as part of their inheritance, and when giving their daughters in marriage the Saiyeds assigned to them a number of their *murids* as part of their dowry.[2]

1. For the origin and the manners and customs of the Momnas and the Matias see Appendix to this chapter.
2. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I. 320; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Pt II. 76. XI.

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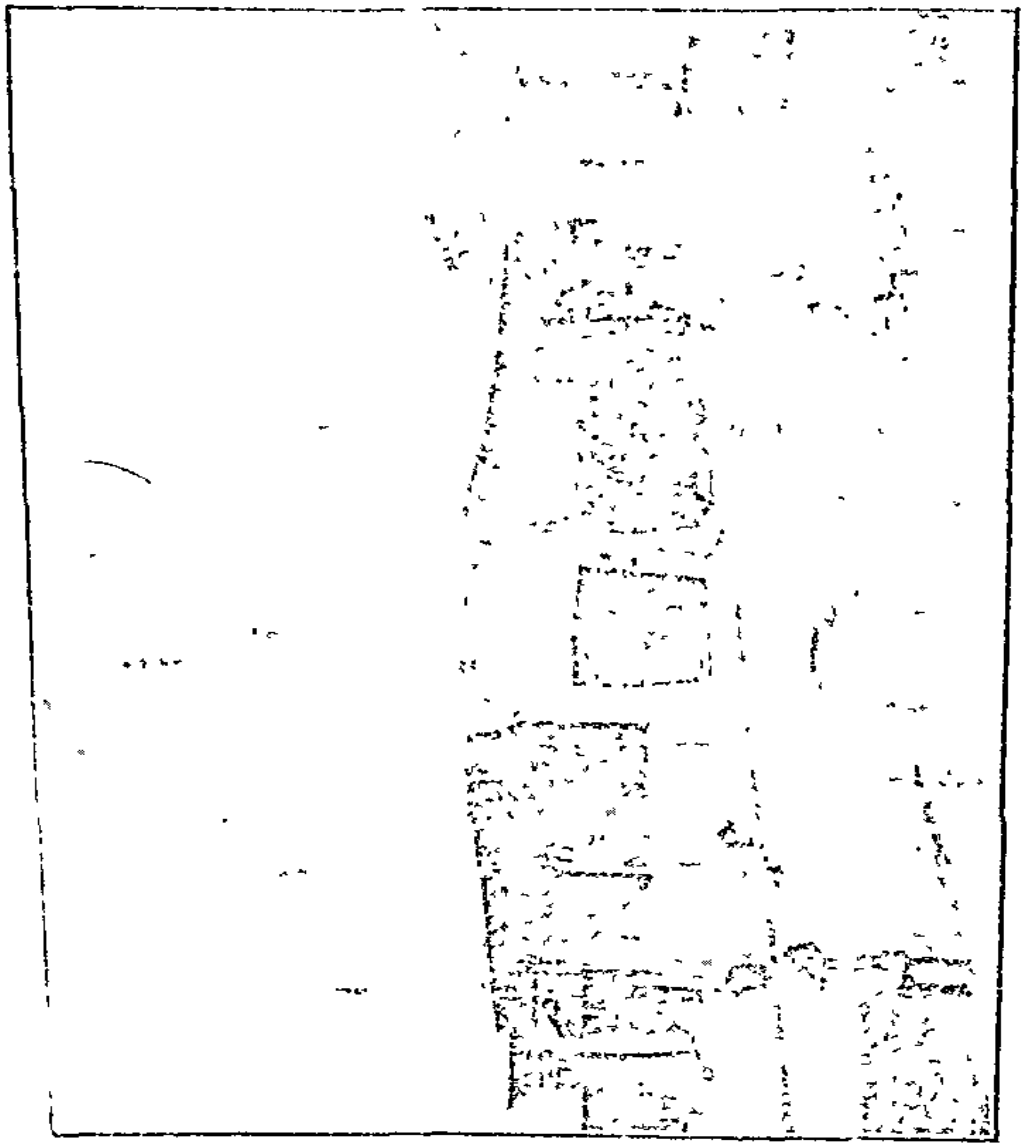

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Some time about the year 1685, Saiyed Shahji, a descendant of Imamshah, succeeded to the spiritual leadership of this sect. He was always surrounded by several thousands of his disciples, and a large number of followers came to him from all parts to make offerings. The rush would be so great that he could hardly find a moment for rest and privacy, and he used sometimes to stretch out his feet from behind a screen or curtain. Such was, however, the blind faith of his votaries that they were content with kissing the saint's feet and heaping near it their offerings of gold and silver. 'In the days of Aurangzeb,' says the Persian historian, 'much attention was given to Muslim Law and to the rooting out of dissent,' and most of the royal servants in their officious zeal to become popular with the Emperor adopted very orthodox views. The malice of these officials led them to accuse the Matias and their head with being Shiahs and an attempt was made to chastise them. Several of the saint's disciples were put into prison, and the facts about Shahji and the irreligiousness of his disciples were reported to the Emperor.[1]

The fame of Saiyed Shahji of Pirana.

The sect accused of being Shiahs.

Aurangzeb, on receiving this information, wrote to the *Sadr* and the *Qazi* of the province to send Saiyed Shahji to the royal presence so that he might enquire about his beliefs and his religion. The saint was at the time living near the tomb of Imamshah at Pirana and when the messengers arrived to conduct him to Ahmadabad he avoided the summons and turned them away. The matter being represented by the Qazi to the viceroy Shujaat Khan, a party was despatched by the latter under a Jamadar to fetch the Saiyed. The saint, finding all resistance useless, agreed to go with them, but while leaving his house he took poison with the result that he died shortly afterwards. Another version is that Shahji reached Ahmadabad safely, and, after an interview with the governor, administered poison to himself on learning that he was to be sent to the royal court.[2] His son, a boy only twelve years old, was thereupon taken charge of and sent to the Emperor.

Shahji commits suicide to avoid being sent to court.

The news of Saiyed Shahji's death spread with great rapidity among his followers who were extremely grieved thereat and were ready to believe that the Viceroy had killed their leader by admi-

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 320-21.

2. The mausoleum of the martyred saint Shahji stands in the sacred enclosure at Pirana (near the village of Giramtha), a few paces away from the great Rauza of Imamshah, the founder of the Momna and Matia sects. All the Rauzas here are in excellent preservation though not very remarkable for architectural beauty.

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nistering poison to him. They came to the conclusion that to sit idle under the circumstances was sinful and that to avenge their saint's death would be meritorious action. From various parts of southern and eastern Gujarat, old and young, small and great, abandoning their homes and their property, and determined to die for their leader, made towards Ahmadabad. While they were crossing the Narbada river in boats the Mughal Fauzdar of Broach sent his soldiers to oppose their passage, but without success, and when he himself arrived at the scene he found that all of them had crossed the river. A skirmish followed in which this officer was killed, and the Momnas, now in open revolt against legal authority, took possession of the fort of Broach. The inhabitants of this town were not molested in any way, but arrangements were made by the rebels to put the fort in a condition for defence and they were soon joined by a large number of persons who were out for trouble and violence.

The Matias of South Gujarat cross the Narbada.

and capture the fort of Broach.

The news having reached the Fauzdar of Baroda, he marched against the insurgents but was unable to drive them from their position as the fort of Broach is situated on a hill and is protected by the Narbada river on one side. The fame of the Matias soon spread all about the country and a rumour went round that they were invincible. When Aurangzeb was informed of the situation he sent very strict orders to Shujaat Khan to expel the rebels and to recapture the fort of Broach, and the viceroy sent an army under Nazarali Khan and Mubarak Khan Babi to effect this purpose.

Shujaat Khan sends an army for its relief.

The royal troops arrived at Broach and began to take the necessary measures for the investment of the fort. It was evident that the revolting sectarians could not possibly hold out long as they had no military leader and no experience of warfare. One day, at noon, when the rebels' guards in the fort had retired from the scorching sun into the shade, some of the besiegers applied their ladders to the walls and scaling them killed a number of the insurgents who were lying asleep. They next opened the gates of the fort through which their comrades outside rushed in. In the general *mêlee* that ensued the now helpless and distracted Momnas fought bravely and desperately thinking it an honour to meet the death of martyrs on behalf of their late spiritual leader. Many who were taken captive urged the victors to kill them so that they might join their comrades who had perished. They even killed each other and large numbers of both men and women threw themselves into the Narbada river and were drowned. The Mughal Jamadar Nuruddin Bhattai was killed in the action and Shujaat

Siege and capture of Broach by the Imperial army.

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the saint of Pirana. Some of them learn the book by heart and gain the title of *Kaka* or devotee. These *Kakas* are laymen and like the rest of the Matias maintain themselves by tilling the soil. One special family of *Kakas* officiates at some of their ceremonies and is the agent through whose hands all presents pass to the saintly descendants of Imamshah at Ahmadabad, Navsari and Burhanpur. The Matias include three religious divisions, viz., *Panchias*, the followers of Surbhai's mausoleum at Pirana; the *Satias*, those who follow Baba Muhammad's; and the *Athias* who follow Bakar Ali's tomb. These are so called from the fact that the number of devotees who originally managed these shrines were five, seven, and eight respectively.

Their religious practices.

'The social and religious customs of the Matia Kanbis are a mixture of those of the Hindus and the Muslims. They keep the Ramzan fast and observe the '*Urs* or their saint's day as a holiday. But they also observe the Holi, the Divaso, and the Divali as festivals. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Pirana, Navsari, Burhanpur and Vemal (seven miles from Miagam in Broach district). At all these centres, except at Burhanpur, the pilgrims visit only the Saints' tombs. But at Burhanpur they worship the great toe of their living spiritual leader. The latter sets his foot on a heap of not less than a hundred rupees contributed by one or two pilgrims. After the foot has been thus set, it is washed, rubbed with some fragrant substance, and the great right toe is kissed by each pilgrim in turn.' x x x No wonder then that the reports of similar idolatrous practices on the part of the Matias at Pirana during his reign, and the worship of their spiritual leader Shahji, provoked in 1685 the anger of Aurangzeb, and the summoning of Shahji to the court, which led to his suicide and the Matia revolt, the tragic consequences of which have been described in the text.

Marriage and burial ceremonies.

'The marriage ceremonies of the Matias do not differ from those of the Leva Kanbis. The family-priest, who is an Audich or Modh Brahman, officiates at these ceremonies. The Matias bury their dead, the body being laid in a Musalman bier. The mourners repeat at the grave two short prayers in Gujarati. The first prayer runs: In the name of Allah, the compassionate and the merciful, of Satgor patra, of Brahma, of Indra, of Imamshah, of the spotless spiritual Vishnu, and of Nur Ali Muhammad Shah. The second prayer is in these words: May the incense burn, all evil disappear, the faith shine, and mercy be secured.

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'The Momnas, more properly *Momins* or Believers, are found in considerable numbers all over Gujarat. They are the descendants of Hindus of many castes converted to the Shiah form of Islam by different members of the family of Ismailia Saiyeds, of whom Imamshah of Pirana (c. 1449) was the most distinguished. Though from their headquarters known as Radhanpuri or Dhandhari or Palanpuri, and from their religious guides known as Nurshahi, Mashaikhshahi, etc., all are Imamshahi Musalmans. With the Matias of Khandesh, the Gujarat Momnas rose in revolt against Imperial authority in 1685, taking and for some time holding the city of Broach.

The Momnas of Gujarat.

'The Momnas of the Ahmadabad sect wear the Banya turban and in every part of their dress copy the Hindus. Others, outside the district, wear a three-cornered Muslim turban and coat. The women, except a few in Surat, dress like Hindus. Almost all eat flesh, but for fear of offending the Hindus they do not use it at their public dinners. The men are weavers, dyers, cloth-dealers and husbandmen. Except the Ahmadabad sect, they read Qutb-ud-din's Gujarati Quran and repeat at prayers their saint's name. The Ahmadabad sect, instead of the Quran, reads Imamshah's book of religious rules. All practice circumcision and bury the dead. Hindu names are common in North Gujarat though rare in the south. While with the other Momnas marriages take place according to the Muslim rules, the Ahmadabad sect calls up, in addition to the Muslim forms, a Brahman and goes through the Hindu ceremony.[1]

Their social and religious customs.

'Momna Kanbis are found almost entirely in Cutch, nearly two-thirds of the cultivators in Cutch being of this fraternity. According to one account, after the great Momna revolt, a portion of them fled to Cutch and settled at Shikra in Vagad. According to another, they were Leva Kanbis converted, and called Momins or believers, by Pir Sadr-ud-din who became their independent pontiff or *imam*. They are chiefly husbandmen and labourers. Shiahs in faith they are Momins only in name, their habits, feelings and general mode of thought being Hindu. Though not knowing why, they keep the *Janmashtami* and *Divali* holidays, dressing in their best and feasting. Though they believe, according to their own account, in Shet Saiyed of Patan, the culti-

Momna Kanbis of Cutch.

1. Extracts from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, Part I, 167-72; Part II, 66-68 and 75-77. *For a full account of the history and divisions of the Pirana saints* and of their mausolea near the village of Giramtha, nine miles south of Ahmadabad, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IV, *Ahmedabad*, 237-90.

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vators devote one-twentieth of their income to Imamshah's shrine at Pirana. The Momnas of Cutch do not associate with Musalmans, eat no flesh, do not circumcise, say no five daily prayers, and do not keep the Ramzan fast.'[1]

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V, Cutch, pp. 80-81.

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